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THE PANJAB PAST AND PRESENT

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Edited by
GANDA SINGH



DEPARTMENT OF PUNJAB HISTORICAL STUDIES
PUNJABI UNIVERSITY, PATIALA

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Antiquity of Taxila

Dr R. L. AHUJA*

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The antiquity of Taxila appears, thus, to be considerably remote; but how ancient the city is, it is difficult to say with confidence; for Uttarakanda or the seventh book of the *Ramayana* is believed to be not genuine—that is, not Valmiki's—but second hand, a later edition, like the very first book; while on the other hand the very date of composition, and the period, too, of the great Epic, still continue to be matters of controversy. It is, therefore, desirable to pursue an independent line of enquiry and then compare its conclusion with ones already suggested with a view to arriving at a provisional statement of the problem. The evidence at our disposal is both foreign or historical, and indigenous, literary, or semi-historical. The direct historical¹ evidence about Taxila is provided by the Greek invasion of Alexander in 326 B.C. Accompanied by some of his great contemporaries, Seleucus, the would be successor of his Asiatic empire. Ptolemy, the prospective king of Egypt; Lysimachus of Thrace, and would be conqueror of Roumania; Perdiceas, his future Regent; Aristoboulos, the geographist; Onescriptus, a disciple of Diogenes; Clitaychus his historian; Alexander crossed the Indus in the spring of 326 B.C. and made a halt at Taxila where he held a *darbar* receiving homage and tributes from the king of Taxila and smaller chiefs of his neighbourhood. Not only was the city full of wealth and splendour but was also a noted centre of culture. It is unfortunate that the Greeks did not visit any of the academies—religious, secular or military. Though Alexander, a pupil of Aristotle, felt greatly interested in Indian ascetics or philosophers fifteen of whom were traced in a suburb of the city, ten miles away. They refused to wait upon Alexander and only agreed to hold philosophical discussion with Onescriptus who gave the whole account in a book that he wrote afterwards. Only one of the ascetics, whom the Greeks called Kalanos, was ultimately persuaded by the Raja of Takshasila to accompany Alexander on his way back to his country. This is all a matter of history and took place in the fourth century B.C., when the city of Takshasila was 'long eminent

*524, Model Town, Jullundur.

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge, Vol. I, p. 357 ff.

among the cities of India as a great seat of learning.²

Earlier still, India was invaded by the Persian King Cyrus (558-530 B.C.), whose eastern conquest included Gandhara as well. The dominion of Persian authority under Darius was extended probably about 518 B.C. and comprised as evident from the Greek sources, the whole of Sind and perhaps a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus.³ This included, therefore, by implication, the district of Peshawar and a considerable portion of Taxila, probably the whole district, though the sphere of Persian influence may have reached still farther. The Iranian hold on India, particularly on Taxila continued up to 330 B.C., when it was put to an end by Alexandar, lasting in short for about 2 centuries (518-330 B.C.). There is no direct evidence to show that Taxila was, during this period of Persian domination, a prominent place of learning or culture. Herodotus,⁴ who notice many a diverse nations in India, is silent on the point. Excavations at Taxila, however, have proved a wealth of evidence in the form of objects of art. Besides a temple of the sun and another of fire worship. There has been discovered a shrine, in the hearts of a block of buildings, an octagonal pillar of which bears an Aramaic inscription carved on white marble. This discovery made by Sir John Marshall is believed to confirm the theory which the French scholar Buhler advanced in 1895 that Kharoshthi is derived from the Aramaic script which was introduced into India during the Persian rule, and which was used then as a common means of communication throughout the Persian Empire.⁵ Kharoshthi, it is believed, was derived at Taxila where some learned Pundits adopted the foreign script to meet the requirements of the new government and to express additional sounds required by Brahmi, the then lingua franca of India. Taxila became presumably the home of Kharoshthi which continued to be employed in the Gandhara down to the 3rd century A.D. It spread from thence to the west and to the east and according to Sylvian Levi it came to be the writing of central Asia in a country like Khotan. Scribes and copyists used it exactly like Brahmi to reproduce religious

2. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 395.

5. Marshall, Sir John, *Guide to Taxila*, 1st edition, pp. 23, 56, 75; *Cambridge History of India*, p. 62.

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literary texts.⁶ Ashoka gave a lasting recognition to this script when he inscribed his two rock edicts in Peshawar district in Kharoshthi the current script of those days, while all the other edicts were inscribed in one or other variety of Brahmi. According to Prof. Rapson, Kharoshthi spread as far as the Jalandhar district where both scripts were current side by side with each other.⁷

This is, however, an argument by inference and this piece of evidence is not direct and consequently inconclusive even as far as it goes, being only secondary and supplementary. It is, therefore, necessary to look elsewhere for a sounder proof of Taxila's eminence in the 6th century B.C. and make an enquiry and an attempt to explore the indigenous field of enquiry. This is the age of the Buddha and Buddhist literature abounds in local and topical allusions, relating both to king and laymen of note. Jivaka, a great genius of this time, for instance, was an ornament of the Buddhist order for his medical skill and devotion to the Buddha. According to Mahavaga which tells a story of his life he studied medicine at Taxila for seven years with Prof. Atreya. He was a protege of prince Abhaya, son of Bimbhisara, king of Magadha (the modern districts of Patna and Gaya). Bimbhisara ruled in the period 603-551 B.C. and was succeeded by his son, Ajtasatarvu (551-519 B.C.) both of whom he served as their state-physician.⁸ This bit of evidence proves beyond doubt that Taxila was a great centre of learning in the time of the Buddha. It is on the basis of the tradition that Hoernle,⁹ author of *Studies in the Ancient India* (London, 1907), places Atreya in 600 B.C., believing him at the same time to be the founder of scientific Indian medicine.

The field of enquiry that opened with Jivaka extends and opens out still further into the remote part and offers us fresh field to explore, which pushes the age of Taxila still farther into antiquity even to the later Vedic times. The sources of this information are Panini, the Jatakas, the Epics and Upanishdas. Panini to begin with mentions Taxila as an important city in his epoch-making work on grammar "*Ashtadhyai*."¹⁰ According to Professor Macdonell, Panini lived probably soon after 500 B. C.¹¹ If this view is accepted Panini's

6. Bannerji, G. N., *Hellenism in Ancient India*, p. 253.

7. Smith, V. A., *Early History of India*, p. 167.

8. Mookerji, R. K., *Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 185, 187, 193, 258.

9. Garret, *Legacy of India*, p. 354.

10. Panini, *Asthadhyai*, Vol. IV, pp. 2, 82.

evidence is only supplementary and corroborative. But there is another school of historians like Dr Gold Stucker and Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, which hold that Panini lived before the Buddha, earlier than 700 B.C.¹² Mr. A.K. Mazumdar¹³ advances some very convincing reasons in support of this contention in his interesting book. It may, therefore, be presumed for the present, at least that Taxila was even before the time of the Buddha an important city and a centre of learning where Panini himself (a native of the Gandhara,¹⁴ born at Salatura near Attock on the western bank of Indus,¹⁵ received his education and even worked as a teacher for some time.

There is yet another clue, which not only supports his point of view but leads the evidence still farther. There are in the Jatakas, birth stories of the Buddha, numerous references to Taxila¹⁶ as a seat of learning resorted to by princes and sons of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, merchants and others, particularly while Braham Datta was a king of Benaras. Dealing with the rise and supremacy of Kasi in the pre-Buddhist period Dr R. L. Mehta holds that it is not one and the same Braham Datta who is frequently referred to in the Jatakas. Some Braham Dattas¹⁷ are sending their princes to Taxila, some are invading or conquering Kosala (Ayodhya or Oudh) others are sending expeditions to reduce¹⁸ Taxila though in vain. A whole dynasty¹⁹ in short, is known as Braham Datta and this chief dynasty, he adds, of Kasi, flourished in the Machajanpada period 800-600 B.C. This view meets further support from Prof. Rapson who writes that the fame of Braham Datta has been kept alive in Buddhist literature; for in his reign the Jatakas, or stories of the Buddhist in previous births are conventionally set. King Brahma Datta, he opines who conquered Kosala, lived "possibly about a century²⁰ and a half before the Buddha time" that is about (560 + 150) 710 or 700 B. C. It is, therefore, interesting to read in

11. Mac onell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 136.

12. Mookerji, R.K., *op. cit.*, p. 26.

13. Mazumdar, S.N., *History of Hinduism*, p. 540.

14. Legge, *Fa-Hiens Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, p. 221; Cunningham, (edited), *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 61.

15. Keay, F.E., *Indian Education in Ancient India*, p. 143.

16. Cowell and Chalmers, *The Jatakas*, Vol. III, pp. 50, 55.

17. *Ibid*, III, pp. 61, 80, 99, 100, 119, 149, 159, etc., etc.

18. *Ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 156, 217, iii, 159; III, 115, 487; IV, 426, V, 215.

19. Mehta, R.L., *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 61.

20. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 316.

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Jataka 336 that after the defeat of his father prince Chatta of Kosala escaped to Taxila and received his education there, especially in art of discovering and buried treasure. On his way back he fell in the company of ascetics and became their leader. After a long trek the company arrived in Benaras and made a halt in the king's garden. Chatta got thus an opportunity to meet King Brahma Datta, made his acquaintance incognitos, won his good will and then recovered his lost kingdom by revealing his identity. Prof. Rhys Davis, too, is of the same opinion when he says that the name Brahma Datta could not have been older than towards the close of the Brahman literature; and a century and half before the birth of the Buddha would bring²¹ about us to that. We are so far, thus, led to believe the Taxila flourished as a great centre of learning "towards the close of the Brahman literature" or about "a century and a half before the birth of the Buddha," that is about 700 B.C.

Finally there is a further literary or educational reference to Taxila suggested though crudely and vaguely in the Jatakas in their peculiar unhistorical and exaggerated manner but nonetheless supported by external evidence. One Setaketu Jataka born of a Brahmin family from the North, and a senior pupil at a Benares school goes to Taxila for further education in arts, after completing which, he wanders through the country learning all practical arts. Again another Brahmin scholar in "Uddalaka Jataka" of the North receives his education at Taxila and then could teach him. In due course he becomes their teacher and leader. The two Brahmin scholars are we shall see presently son and father and according to the stories both got their higher education at Taxila. The former scholar bears resemblance to Svetaketu, a class-fellow of Yajñvalkyā, mentioned in the *Chhandogya* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* the two oldest and most important *Upanishads* representing the latest phase of the Vedic literature in the later Vedic age. Svetaketu and Yajñvalkyā were both contemporaries of of king Janaka of Videha²⁶ and both students of his

21. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

22. Cowell and Chalmers, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 49; Vol. III, p. 337, Mehta, R.L., *op. cit.*, pp. 305, 329.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 487.

24. *Chh. Up.*, 1. 4. 2, V, 3, 106.

25. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 116.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 122; Mookerji, R.K., *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 93, 110.

father Aruni Uddalaka, who was the centre of a circle of scholars contributing most to the philosophy of the *Upanishda*, and a learned teacher of his times.²⁷

This bit of evidence suggests that Svetaketu was educated at Taxila. Svetaketu was a contemporary of King of Janaka of Videha, and also of King Ajatasatru²⁸ of Kasi, and Asvapati of Kaikeyas; and that, therefore, Taxila was a seat of learning in the time of Kings Janaka, Ajatasatru and Asvapati. Even though there is a similarity between the Svetaketu Jataka and Brihadaranyake, *Upanishad* (Vi, i, i) in the education of Svetaketu, yet the argument does not go very far in as much as the Jataka is not authentic or reliable history. It is, therefore, necessary to produce some further testimony which, though an independent one, bears equally well on the point, and happily there is one at hand. King Janamejaya, the eldest son of Parikshita, the famous king of the Kurus, says the Mahabharata, succeeded his father while still a minor. He had three brothers, Srutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhimasena. Once with their help he performed a long sacrifice on the plain of Kurukshetra. After the sacrifice he returned to Hastinapur, his capital. Then in order to guard himself from evil influence or courses so common in those days, he found for himself a *purohita* or spiritual master Somasrava by name, a great ascetic, accomplished in the study of the Vedas, son of a Brahmin Rishi Srutasrava. Leaving his brother in the service of his *purohita* the king marched towards Takshashila and brought that country under his authority.²⁹ Sometime after his victorious return from Takshashila Rishi Untanka³⁰ waited upon him and incited him to avenge his father's death on the wicked Takshakva. When Janamejaya heard all the circumstances of his father's death from Untanka and further got verified from his ministers, he (the King) took a vow to avenge himself on his father's enemy by performing a snake sacrifice. This sacrifice was attended among other by Svetaketu and Uddalaka.³¹ This testimony of the Mahabharata, too places Svetaketu and Takshashila together in the same age, though without associating them together with king educationally. It may further be pointed out

27. *Ibid.*

28. Mookerji, R.K., *op. cit.*, p. 109; *Chh. Up.*, V, XI, pp. 1-5.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 112; *Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 122.

30. *M. Adipurate*, II, xlv.

31. *Ibid.*, III.

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that King Janamejya of the Mahabharata is not the famous Janamejya sacrifice is celebrated in the Satapatha Brahmana. This evidence, it may be admitted, is not the Janamejya of Aitareya Brahman whose horse sacrifice is celebrated in the Satapatha Brahman; nor is the epic Parikshit the same as the first great Kuru King Parikshit celebrated in the last and latest book of the *Arharva Veda*. The Vedic tradition, in short, is held to be different from the epic one.³² Making allowance for this disparity and even eliminating Janamejya whom³³ Mookerji calls Janamejya III from the evidence, one may feel, the weight of cumulative evidence bearing on one important point hinted at above that Takshashila flourished in the time of Svetaketu and his father Aruni Uddalaka.³⁴ Now both father and son figure prominently in Chhandogya³⁵ Upanishada and Brahadarnyaka Upanishada, at the same time in Satapatha Brahmana.³⁶ and in Kauiski Brahman (i, i). The Chhandogya Upanishada is, however, attached to the Satapatha Brahmana which itself belongs to the white school of the Samlitas of the Yajurveda. The dates, therefore, may roughly be placed according to modest estimate of Rapson's³⁷ and Keith's birthday between 800—700 B.C. probably nearly 800 B.C. Taxila, therefore, it may be suggested with some confidence, flourished in the eighth century B.C., and possibly earlier in the 9th.

If we enquire, writes Macdonell, as to how far the legends of Satapatha Brahmana contain the germs of the later epic tales we find that there is indeed some slight connection. Janamejaya the celebrated king of the Kurus in the Mahabharata is mentioned here for the first time. The Pandus, however, who proved victorious in the epic war are not to be met with in this any more in the other Brahmanas, and Arjuna the name of the chief is still an appellation of Indra. But as

32. *Ibid.*, section xlv-I-iii.

33. Mookerji, R.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 156-59; *Cambridge History of India*, i, pp. 120, 302.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

35. Aruni was called Uddalaka by his preceptor, a Rishi, Ayodhya Dhaumya by name; as a mark of favour the *rishi* lived about the same time when Janamejaya conquered Taxshyilla, *Adi Purva*, section III.

36. *Chh. Up.*, I, Ic, 2, ii, i, xi. 1—5, pro io. II, I, IV, 10; III (i)

37. *Sh. b. XI*; 4, 1, 24; XI, 6.

38. A.I., i, 18; *Cambridge History of India*, pp. 112, 115.

39. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

the epic Arjuna is a son of Indra, his origin is doubtless to be traced to this epithet of Indra. Janaka, the famous king of Videha is in all probability identical with the father of Sita, the heroine of the Ramayana. Rapson too, is inclined to think in this way when he says that it is possible that he (Janaka, the father of Sita) may be king Janaka of Videha (Bihar) who is celebrated in the Brahmanas and Upanishadas and if so the story of the Ramayana has its origin in the later Brahmanas⁴⁰ period. It may be perceived at this stage that the epic tradition of the origin of Taxila, and the evidence of its antiquity have drawn closer together and seem to harmonise into a common source. In conclusion, this (Buddhist) tradition may indicate that from the end of vedic period, Taxila continued for many centuries to maintain its prestige for learning and that the arts and crafts inspired by the Kautilya.⁴⁰ *Arthashastra* may represent the accumulated learning of several centuries during which the political centres shifted from the eastern Punjab down the Ganges valley to Magdha at the end of the 4th century B.C.⁴¹

40. *Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 317.

41. Garret, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

Phulkian Ruling Houses

DR BHAGAT SINGH*

The Phulkian rulers descended from the Bhatti Rajputs. They trace their ancestry to Jesal, the founder of the state and city of Jesalmer, who was driven from his kingdom in A. D. 1180. He wandered northwards where Pirthi Raj was the king of Ajmer and Delhi and the most powerful ruler in Hindustan. Jesal wanted to settle near Hissar. He had four sons and third of these, Hemhel, sacked the town of Hissar, seized a number of villages in its neighbourhood and overran the country upto the walls of Delhi.¹ He was beaten back by Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish, the Sultan of Delhi, but was afterwards received into favour and made governor of Sirsa and Bhatinda in A. D. 1212. He died two years later. He was succeeded by his son Jandra, the father of twenty one sons. The succession continued till Khiwa became the head of the clan. Khiwa's Rajput wife could not bear any child. He married a second wife, the daughter of one Basir, a Jat *zamindar* of Neli. The marriage was considered a disgrace by his Rajput kinsmen and Khiwa was ever afterwards called *khot* which signifies an inferior and degrading admixture.²

Khiwa was blessed with an heir, but the first wife, jealous of her rival, bribed the mid-wife to substitute a girl for the boy, whom she took into the jungle and placed in a dry water-course. A man, passing by, saw the infant, took it home and adopted as his son. The mid-wife could not keep the secret and the Rajput wife was compelled to confess her guilt. After a long search the boy was found and restored to his father. He was named Sidhu and from him the Sidhu tribe derived its name.³

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1. Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, p.2 (1873); Gian Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Part-II, p. 541 (reprint, 1970); Cf. *Tazkirah-i-Khāndan-i-Rajah-i-Phulkian*, p. 1 (Persian Ms. Dr Ganda Singh Collection, Patiala). Henceforth this manuscript would be referred to as *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*; Cf. Bute Shah, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Daftar IV, p. 243 (Ms. Dr Ganda Singh Collection).
2. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 541-42.
3. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Cf. Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

Sidhu, who was, according to Rajput custom, reckoned as of the caste of his mother, a Jat, had four sons from whom descended the families of Kaithal and Phulkian chiefs. When Babur invaded India in A. D. 1524, Sanghar, a descendant of the Sidhus, waited on him at Lahore and joined his army with a few of his followers. But shortly thereafter he was killed at the battle of Panipat, on 21st April 1526. After gaining the empire of Delhi, Babur gave the *chaudharyat* of the territory to the south-west of Delhi, to Sanghar's son, Beerām. The office was confirmed to him by Humayun. Beeram mostly lived at Neli, the village of Sidhu's maternal relations. He rebuilt Bedowal (Bedowali) which had become deserted. He was killed about the year 1560, fighting against the Bhattis.⁴

From his two sons, Beeram was succeeded by Mehraj to the *chaudharyat*. Mehraj's son Sattu succeeded his father. He was followed by his son Pakhu. Pakhu was also killed in a skirmish with the Bhattis. He was succeeded by his son Mohan.⁵

Due to the harrassment of the Bhatti Rajputs, Mohan moved to Nathana. The Bhullars and Dhaliwals who were becoming the *tappe-dars* of that territory would not allow Mohan and his people to found a village and settle there.⁶

In these very days Guru Hargobind happened to visit that area. All the Sikhs paid homage to the Guru. Mohan made an appeal to him to ask the Bhullars to allow them to settle. When the Guru pleaded for Mohan and his men the Bhullars refused to spare even an inch of land for them. The Guru asked Mohan to go and found a village which he did in A.D. 1627 and named it Mehraj after the name of his great-grandfather.⁷ The opposition and hostility of the Bhullars was to no avail due to the armed aid by the Guru's men. It was at Mehraj that Guru Hargobind fought against the Mughals in A.D. 1631. Mohan and his men actively participated in the battle of Mehraj on the side of the Guru.⁸

4. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5 ; Cf. Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

5. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 1; Gian Singh, pp. 542-43.

6. Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 543-44.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 544 ; Cf. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 11; Cf. Bute Shah, IV, p. 274 ; Lepe Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

8. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 1; Bute Shah, IV, p. 274.

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Mohan, along with his eldest son Rup Chand was killed in a fight against the Bhattis. After Mohan's death, the next surviving son Kala succeeded to the *chaudhāriyat* and also to the guardianship of his deceased brother's sons, Phul and Sandali.⁹

CHAUDHARY PHUL AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The Phulkian rulers of Patiala, Nabha and Jind descended from Phul. He was the second son of Rup Chand, by *Mai* Ambi, a Jat woman.¹⁰ The dates of his birth and death are not known with certainty. As discussed by S. N. Banerjee,¹¹ according to the official note preserved in the Foreign Office Records, Phul was born in 1619 and he died in 1689. Sir Attar Singh and Lepel Griffin, while accepting this date of birth, place his death in the year 1652. Giani Gian Singh, the author of *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, gives the date of birth as 1688, B.K. which corresponds to A.D. 1631. From yet another source, which supplies the horoscope of Phul, he was born on Chaitra *Sudi* 9, 1699 which corresponds to April 17, 1643 and that his death occurred in Har *Sudi* 6, 1739 which corresponds to July 29, 1682. The year of birth taken from the horoscope appears to be highly probable and is confirmed by the story that Phul was a mere boy when he was conducted by his uncle Kala to the presence of Guru Har Rai in A. D. 1654. From all the dates of Phul's birth, April 7, 1643 seems to be more correct.

The date of death has also been variously given as A.D. 1652, 1682 and 1689. The first may be ruled out as impossible in view of the date of birth accepted above. Out of the remaining two 1689¹² appears to be more probable as it is consistent with certain acknowledged facts of Phul's career.

As the tradition goes when Guru Har Rai went to the Malwa on a preaching mission, Kala, accompanied by Phul and Sandali, came to pay his respects to the Guru. In the presence of the Guru, the young Phul patted his stomach. On the Guru's asking, Kala told him that he did so when he felt hungry. The Guru blessed Phul by saying that, "what mattered the hunger of one belly Phul would satisfy the hunger

9. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 545-46.

10. *Ibid.*, Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

11. S. N. Banerjee, *A History of Patiala*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 2-3 (typed Ms. Dr Ganda Singh's Personal Collection, Patiala); Khalifa Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *Tarikh-i-Patiala* pp. 33-34 (1878).

12. *Tazikrah-i-Phulkian*, p. 3.

of thousands. The horses of Phul's successors would drink water from Jamuna and their *raj* would extend to it."¹³ Prophecy was amply fulfilled as is borne out by the history of the Phulkians.

Kala died in April 1661 when Phul was yet in his teens. Possessed of the qualities of leadership and having received the necessary training, he, however, did not find himself unequal to the task that confronted him after the death of his uncle.¹⁴

At the very outset of his career, Phul realised the need of a place separate from Mehraj where he could establish his headquarters and carry on his activities unhampered. So he founded a village, five miles east of Mehraj to which he gave his own name Phul.¹⁵ Though the village Phul was founded in 1663 it was not till 1671 that Phul grew sufficiently populous with a fort befitting its position.

An anecdote is related in connection with the founding of Phul. Close to Mehraj there lived an ascetic named Sumerpuri who subsisted only on milk. One wet evening when Phul took milk to him he found the *sadhu* in trance. It continued raining for the whole night and Phul kept standing by the side of Sumerpuri covering him by a blanket. When the *sadhu* opened his eyes in the morning he found Phul standing near him with the pot of milk brought for him. Pleased with Phul's devotion the ascetic blessed him to found a new village for his residence.¹⁶

The *chaudharyat* had been duly confirmed by the Mughal Government.¹⁷ Phul was required to credit the government revenue to the Sirhind treasury. For about a quarter of a century Phul remained the *chaudhary* at the newly founded headquarters. The period was marked by the two events. One was the customary war with the Bhattis and the other was a more serious conflict with Daulat Khan and his son Isa Khan. The Bhattis of Bhatner and the Brars of Talwandi Sabo were hostile to each other. The Bhattis made large-scale preparations under the leadership of Mahabat Khan and Mahbub Khan. On the other side

13. Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 546 ; Cf. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

14. S. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

15. Khushwaqat Rai, *Tawarikh-i-Sikhan*, pp. 114-15 ; Bute Shah, IV, p. 274.

Kanaihya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 108 (ed. 1877); Khalifa Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

16. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Cf. Bute Shah, IV, p. 274 ; Lepel Griffin *op. cit.*, p. 7 ; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

17. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

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Dalla Brar of Talwandi Sabo invoked the help of Chaudhary Phul who readily responded to the call from a kinsman for aid against the hereditary enemies. The two Brar Sardars assumed the offensive, attacked the Bhattis, killed their leaders Mahabat Khan and Mahbub Khan and won a victory over them.¹⁸

Chaudhary Phul's fast rise excited the jealousy of his neighbours. One of them, the *chaudhary* of Kangar, represented to Isa Khan who sent one Chacho Khan Manj with a contingent, who occupied Phul and made the *chaudhary*, a prisoner. Jhanda, a relative of Chaudhary Phul came with 100 men, killed Chacho Khan and expelled his men.

Isa Khan felt very irritated over this disaster and conducted a raid of village Phul personally. Unable to hold against the powerful enemy, Chaudhary Phul retired to Bedowali, the former seat of his ancestors. The village of Phul was plundered. But shortly after, Chaudhary Phul recovered his village and made a counter raid upon the territory of his enemies, whom he defeated. The Mughal officer stationed at Jagraon demanded the revenue from Chaudhary Phul. The latter refused to pay. The Mughal officer accompanied by his men came and plundered the village of Phul and took with him some persons as hostages. The *chaudhary* was absent from his headquarters at that time. On return he led his men against the Mughal Officer and brought him as a prisoner to his headquarters. The *chaudhary* treated the prisoner with kindness and sent him back safely. This raised Chaudhary Phul in the estimation of the people.¹⁹

For his inability to pay the land-revenue of the area under him, ultimately, Chaudhary Phul, fell a prisoner in the hands of the *faujdar* of Sirhind. He was taken to Sirhind where he was placed under surveillance.²⁰ It seems that owing to frequent disturbances or skirmishes he could not collect the revenue or had to incur expenditure which left him with no balance to pay the fiscal dues.

In concert with Sher Muhammad Khan of Malerkotla, Chaudhary Phul devised a means of securing his release. He resorted to the yogic exercise of suspending his breath which he had learnt from the ascetic, named Sumerpuri. This was done. The state of suspended animation was taken for death and the body was handed over to the

18. Cian Singh, *op. cit.* p. 547; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 34-35.

19. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 2-3.

20. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 547; Muhammad Latif, p. 127.

Nawab of Malerkotla who agreed to have it sent to Phul. When, however, the body was being carried, Phul's sons Tilok Chand and Ram Chand who were on their way to Sirhind, met the party at Bahadurpūr, near Dhanola presently in Sangrur district. Unaware of the actual position of suspended animation Chaudhary Phul's sons cremated him with due ceremonies. Thus Chaudhary Phul died under deplorable circumstances when yet in vigour of manhood.²¹ According to Karam Singh, the *chaudhary* concerted with Gidiya²² (a *mirasi*) that he would take his body to his home and hand it over to his elder wife Bali who knew how to restore the breath. Gidiya took the body and it was taken over by Phul's sons. It is said that *Mai* Bali and Sumerpuri who knew how to revive breath were away from the village. So the needful could not be done. There is yet another version given by Bute Shah that Chaudhary Phul went to the hut of Sumerpuri and not finding him there practised *pranayam* or stopping the breath but carried it too far. The sons took him for dead and his body was burnt.²³ Still another version is that he died of apoplexy contracted while a prisoner of the governor of Sirhind.²⁴ But the first version of death having been caused by *pranayam* is based on more reliable evidence and may be accepted as true.

When Phul's elder wife Bali arrived, hearing of what had taken place, she declared that her husband had been burnt alive. Raji, the younger wife, who had ordered the cremation of her husband's body was so much disconcerted by her mistake that she abandoned the village and went to live with her brother-in-law, Sukhan Lal, a Brar, while Bali and her children continued to live in the village of Phul.²⁵

Chaudhary Phul's elder wife Bali was daughter of one Jassa Dhillon belonging to the village Dhilwan. The second one Raji was the daughter of Dadu of the village Sodhana.²⁶

From the first marriage the *chaudhary* had three sons : Tilok Chand, Ram Chand and Raghu; and from the second wife also three sons :

21. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 3 ; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 7 ; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 547 ; Muhammad Latif, p. 127.

22. Karam Singh, *Maharaja Ala Singh*, p. 59.

23. Bute Shah, IV, p. 275.

24. Khalifa Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37 ; Muhammad Latif, p. 127.

25. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

26. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 2 ; S. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ; Gian Singh, pp. 545-47.

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Jhandu, Chato and Takhat Mal.²⁷ Of the three sons by the first wife, Raghu was killed in a clash at Panjgrian, about 9 miles south-east of Faridkot. Between Tiloka and Rama on the one hand and their step-brothers on the other there were constant bickerings. Ultimately the step-mother along with her sons withdrew from Phul, first to Harnam Singhwala (three miles north of the village of Phul) and then further north, to Gumti where the family settled down. But Lepel Griffin thinks that the step brothers of Tiloka and Rama had to give up all claim to the ancestral property on account of their inability to pay their quota of the dues demanded by the imperial government and they were assigned the village of Gumti.²⁸ The first version seems more probable.

The domestic disputes kept Tiloka and Rama busy for some years after the death of their father in 1689. Then they started setting their house in order. Both the brothers were attracted by the lofty teachings and magnetic personality of Guru Gobind Singh. They became the devoted followers of the Guru and rendered him assistance on more than one occasion. The names of the two brothers were usually mentioned together. They always acted in concert and there existed the best of brotherly feelings between them for many years.

We cannot exactly say as to when they first came in contact with Guru Gobind Singh but as early as 1696 we find the Guru appreciating their devotion in a letter addressed to the two brothers. This *hukamnama* was issued by the Guru to the two brothers when he was fighting against the hill chiefs. The *hukamnama* reads :

"It is the order of Shri Guru ji that *Bhai* Tiloka and *Bhai* Rama, may the Guru protect you all, should come to our presence with your troops. We are much pleased with you. Your house is ours. Immediately on the receipt of this order you should come here....Come with your horsemen. Come without fail. My blessings are on you.... Do come. I have sent a dress for you." 2nd Bhadon, 1753 (i.e., August 2, 1696).²⁹

This shows a link between the Phul's house and the *Guru-ghar*. It is believed that Tiloka was present at Chamkaur in December 1705. There is another version which seems more probable. It is said that

27. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 2 ; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 546-47; Cf. Khalifa Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

28. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

29. Ganda Singh (ed.), *Hukamname*, p. 147.

the two brothers while at Sirhind for paying the revenue, heard of the disaster at Chamkaur, reached there in disguise. They searched the bodies of the Guru's sons and duly cremated them, as also the corpses of the other Sikh martyrs. Later, while staying at Damdama the Guru called the two brothers and blessed them. Receiving *pahul* the two brothers got admitted to the fold of Sikhism.³⁰ Before their departure the Guru gave them a few weapons—swords, daggers, battle-axes and a *nishan sahib*, which remained preserved in their family over the centuries.

In 1710-11 Tilok Singh and Ram Singh sent at their own expense a number of recruits to fight under Banda Singh, though they did not go personally. It is very probable that due to the confusion caused by Banda Singh's vigorous action in the Punjab the two brothers consolidated their position in the area under them.

Tilok Singh was by nature quiet and peaceful and punctually credited the revenue to the *faujdar's* treasury. Ram Singh, on the other hand, was self-assertive and bellicose and these qualities were requisite for a man who had to create a state. He is said to have first distinguished himself by attacking and dispersing a large body of marauders who were passing by the village of Phul laden with plunder³¹ and unburdened them of their looted and stolen booty including cattle. He founded the village of Rampur. He made a raid into the Bhatti territory and defeated Hasan Khan, one of the old enemies of his family, and carried off much spoil—money, horses and cattle. His next victory was over the Muhammadan chief of Kot whom he defeated and plundered.

It is said that Ram Singh was taken captive about the year 1707 by the *nazim* of Hissar from where he soon made good his escape and returned to Phul. After some time he left Phul and retired to his father-in-law's village Dhapali, three miles to the east of Phul. Soon after he shifted to Bhadaur and from there to Rampur, which is situated about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south of Phul. In all probability, he made Rampur his usual place of residence in A.D. 1708 where he lived for the rest of his life.³²

30. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, p. 58; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

31. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 7; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12 (1873).

32. S. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 17.

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It seems that for the first few years Sardar Ram Singh, slowly but not quietly, felt his way for establishing his authority in the territory in the vicinity of Phul and Bhadaur which were situated at a distance of ten miles from each other. Then, he managed through his cousin Chain Singh to secure the grant of the *chaudharyat* of the jungle *ilaga* from the *faujdar* of Sirhind.³³ It seems that the appointment was secured about A. D. 1710 during the time of uncertainty and disorder which was caused by Banda Singh Bahadur and when a policy of pacifying local men was followed.

Chain Singh who presumably enjoyed the favour of the *faujdar* of Sirhind became the joint-collector of revenue with Ram Singh. Chain Singh was a man of haughty and interfering nature. His demands grew from day to day till at last his partnership with Ram Singh became impossible. No persuasion could dissuade Chain Singh from his objectionable behaviour. Ram Singh, in consultation with Tilok Singh, took the drastic step of getting Chain Singh liquidated and for the rest of his life he remained the sole collector of revenue of the *ilaga*. The *faujdar* of Sirhind took no serious notice of the murder of Chain Singh but the sons of the latter, Biru and Uggar Sain carried out the vendetta by killing Ram Singh at Malerkotla in 1714.³⁴ According to an account he was fifty years of age when he met with the violent end.³⁵

Ram Singh was married to Sabi (Sahib Kaur) who was the daughter of Nanu Singh Bhutta of the village of Ghunas. By her he had six sons Duna, Sabha, Ala, Bakhta, Budha and Laddha of whom the last two died young³⁶ and childless. Sardar Duna became the ancestor of Sardars of Kot Duna and Bhadaur. The other sons, excepting Ala Singh who founded the Patiala house, could not get any prominence.

SARDAR ALA SINGH (1695-1765)

The author of *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian* writes that Ala Singh was running his twentieth year when his father was murdered in 1714.³⁷ The inscription regarding his birth on the *samadh* of Baba Ala Singh at Patiala, noting the date as 1695, corroborates the *Tazkirah*. According to Gian Singh he was born in 1691.³⁸

33. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ; S. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

34. Lepel Griffin, p. 13 ; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-9.

35. S. N. Banerjee, p. 20 (also see f. n. 9).

36. Bute Shah, IV, p. 275 ; *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 7.

37. S. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 21 ; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

38. Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

The active career of Ala Singh roughly covered half a century. Besides his capacity to lead and ability to take advantage of the situation, he had the privilege of being served by the Malwa *Jats*, who were reputed for their martial qualities. The career of Ala Singh was mostly concerned with or confined to the *sarkar* of Sirhind. Every *sarkar* was administered by a *faujdar*. The *faujdar* of Sirhind was helped by functionaries stationed at places like Sunam and Samana. A class of officials called estate-holders or *jagirdars* or farmers of revenue were in touch with the people and dominated the places where they held lands. It was with these local men of influence, that Ala Singh had much to do for the first thirty years of his career.

Isa Khan Munj held land on both sides of the Satluj. He was a terror to the tract from Tihara to Dhuri. In 1718 he was killed along with his father, fighting against the imperial army. The Afghans of Kotla were at the time under Jamal Khan who raised the chiefship to prominence. In Raikot and Jagraon Rai Kalha III was the contemporary of Ala Singh. The area around Barnala was held by Saundha Khan Rajput. The country side of Samana and Dhodian was *jagir* of Farid Khan of Kakra, and the *ilaga* of Sunam was part of the *jagir* of Amir Khan. Patiala and the neighbouring villages formed the jurisdiction of the *taluqadar*, Muhammad Saleh Khokhar with his headquarters at Sanaur, four miles from Patiala. Saifabad (Bahadurgarh), was in the hands of the descendants of Saif Khan. Bhatinda was held by Sardar Jodha.³⁹

Ala Singh was barely out of his teens when his father was done to death. He and his brother Sabha Singh avenged the blood of their father by murdering Kamala and Biru—sons of Chain Singh along with eighteen of their followers.⁴⁰ Ala Singh also sacked Sema, the village of Chain Singh. Uggar Sain could not recover his paternal property till about 1746 when Ali Muhammad Khan, *faujdar* of Sirhind, gave him permission to reoccupy and populate the village.⁴¹

Ala Singh took possession of Barnala in A. D. 1722-23. Leaving his elder brother Duna Singh in possession of Bhadaur Ala Singh shifted to Barnala.⁴² It marks the real beginning of his career and Barnala

39. S. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

40. Lepel Griffin, p. 14; S. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

41. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 14; S. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

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remained his headquarters for the next forty years. According to *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian* there is a story about Ala Singh's leaving Bhadaur. One day Ala the Singh visited holy the *faqir*, Baba Charan Dass, who advised him leave Bhadaur and move to the east and populate a *theli* which would result in his progress and prosperity. Bir Bhan, *zamindar* and *muqadam* of village Sanghera, joined Ala Singh in rebuilding Barnala, which had fallen into ruins.⁴³

At Barnala one of Ala Singh's most powerful and troublesome neighbours was Saundha Khan, a Muhammadan of Rajput origin, who owned the village of Nima, whose occupation was robbery rather than husbandry. He, besides three hundred horsemen of his own, could count on the assistance of Rai Kalha, the chief of Kot, his relation. Saundha Khan died in 1731 and his adopted son, Nigahi Khan, disgusted at being refused a share with the two sons of the deceased, took service with Ala Singh and persuaded Sardul Singh, the son of the latter, to join him in an attack upon the village of Nima, which they captured and destroyed.⁴⁴

Hearing of the complete effacement of Saundha Khan's power, Rai Kalha issued an appeal to the Muhammadan chiefs for assistance against Ala Singh. Fateh Khan of Talwandi, Dalel Khan of Halwara, Qutab-ud-Din Khan of Malsian, Jamal Khan of Malerkotla, etc., responded to the call. They placed their soldiers, numbering 40,000 under the command of Nawab Asad Ali Khan, *faujdar* of Jalandhar Doab.⁴⁵ Ala Singh obtained help from Majha and Malwa Sikhs to fight a combination of Muhammadan chiefs. Kapur Singh, Diwan Darbara Singh and Dip Singh Shahid came from Majha with a force of 15000 men. Mehrajian Sardars Shahzada Singh and Kehar Singh and Lakhna Dogar from Malwa joined with their contingents. Asad Ali was killed and the other Muhammadan chiefs took to flight. This victory of Ala Singh against heavy odds marked a turning point in the career of Ala Singh.⁴⁶

Ala Singh was baptised to Sikhism by Sardar Kapur Singh Faizullapuria.⁴⁷

According to the *Tazkirah*, after building Barnala, Ala Singh

42. Bute Shah, IV, p. 275 ; *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 11; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

43. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 11.

44. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Cf. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 11.

45. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 11-12; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 12 ; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

47. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, p. 206 (1939).

decided to build Longowal. He pitched a *mohri* (a trunk of wood) at a place where he proposed to lay out the village of Longowal. Some person pulled out the *mohri* and threw it into a well. Ala Singh sought the advice of Bhai Mul Chand, a famous *faqir*, as to the desirability of going ahead with the village. Bhai Mul Chand favoured the project and it was built and populated in due course of time. He also founded Dirba. He founded more villages in the deserted *jungle* areas and also occupied many villages from the *parganas* of Sunam and Samana.⁴⁸

In 1745 Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhela was appointed *faujdar* of Sirhind. On assuming charge he summoned the prominent *taluqadars* to Sirhind. Ala Singh was among those who obeyed the summons. Rai Kalha of Kot did not attend. An army was sent against him under Hafiz Rahmat and Ala Singh accompanied the expedition with his troops. The Rai's power was destroyed. He fled with his family and took shelter in Pakpattan. Raikot and Jagraon were occupied. With the victorious army Ala Singh also returned to Sirhind where he found himself landed in prison. He was then shifted to Sunam where he was kept in close confinement. Ala Singh's quick strides in conquering more and more areas had resulted in his imprisonment. Ala Singh escaped from the prison in the guise of his faithful servant Karam Singh. He hastened to Longowal and thence to Barnala.⁴⁹

Both Samana and Sunam were the important *parganas* and these two towns ranked in importance to Sirhind. Ala Singh was slowly feeling his way towards the establishment of his overlordship over these *parganas*. In 1749 he erected a fort at Dhodian (which came to be called Bhawanigarh) which fell within the jurisdiction of Farid Khan of Kakra and *rakhi* was also levied on seventeen other villages belonging to the same landlord. This was naturally resented by him. Accompanied by some 70 horsemen Farid Khan was proceeding to Samana to arrange aid against Ala Singh when he was seen and attacked by the latter's men. Farid Khan along with 20 men, was killed in the fray. His movable property was given to his sons and his landed estate passed to Ala Singh who occupied a quarter of the *pargana* of Samana.⁵⁰ The construction of the fort of Bhawanigarh eclipsed the importance of Longowal and Ala Singh made it his place of frequent residence.

In the fifties Ala Singh was well on his way to rulership. In this

48. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 12.

49. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 555-56.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

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decade extensive territories which in Mughal times were included in the *pargana* of Sunam, Samana, Banur and Ghuram were brought within his sway. He even went beyond the boundary of the *sarkar* of Sirhind and occupied a portion of northern Hissar. Sanaur, once a village, was better known, being the seat of a *taluqadar*, a Sherwani Afghan, whose name was Muhammad Saleh Khokhar. The Khokhar chief voluntarily offered 84 villages to Ala Singh probably by way of propitiating a man who was occupying villages far and near and might any day march on his territory. Ala Singh despatched Gurbakhsh Singh Kaleka with a body of 1000 horsemen to take formal possession of the ceded villages including Sanaur.⁵¹

Among the ceded villages was Patiala, then a small village. At the suggestion of Sukh Das Singh Kaleka and Gurbakhsh Singh, Patiala was selected for the construction of a building known as *deohri*, for the occasional residence of Sardar Ala Singh, and for the erection of a mud fort, for its defence. This fort, traditionally known as *Sodhian ki Garhi* or *Gher Sodhian*, was situated to the east of the present fort called *Qila-i-Mubarak*.⁵²

The Patiala *garhi* was attacked by the chief of Saifabad. Ala Singh issued out of the *garhi* and defeated the invaders.⁵³

Jodha attacked Bhatinda in 1753. Bugga Singh, nephew of Ala Singh and son of Duna Singh, was sent to Bhatinda against Jodha's unsocial behaviour. Bugga Singh could not do much. Ala Singh ordered a force of three to four thousand strong to march on Bhatinda. Jodha was defeated and his territory was overrun and many of the captured villages including Bhuchhu and Jhumba were given to Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh who laid the foundation of the Kaithal family.⁵⁴

Kanwar Lal Singh and his father Ala Singh then overran Sohana, Jamalpur, Dharsul and Shikarpur belonging to Muhammad Amin Khan and Muhammad Hassan Khan Bhattis. These chiefs solicited the help of the Imperial Governor of Hissar, who sent a detachment; but in the engagement which followed at Khodal, near Akalgarh, the Bhattis were defeated. On their second venture also, after three days'

51. S. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Cf. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Cf. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 13.

52. *Ibid.*; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 49-50.

53. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 13-5.

54. S. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 51-2.

skirmishing Ala Singh made a night attack on the Bhatti camp which was completely successful and Muhammad Amin Khan escaped to Hissar. He then, to secure cordial assistance from Nawab Nazir Khan, gave him his daughter in marriage. The Sikhs and the Bhattis supported by the imperial forces met at Dharsul. Fighting continued for eight days. Nawab Nasir Khan, Governor of Hissar, was killed and the Imperial forces disheartened by the loss of their leader, left the field and the Bhattis were then at once attacked by Ala Singh with all his troops and put to flight with heavy loss. This engagement, which did much to consolidate Ala Singh's power and increase his reputation, was fought in 1757.⁵⁵

In the end of 1758 the towns of Sunam and Samana also passed into the possession of Ala Singh.

Since the capture of Barnala and Sanghera Ala Singh had been almost in continual conflict with the chiefs of Malerkotla and Raikot. Jamal Khan and Bhikan, the Nawabs of the former state, were contemporaries of Ala Singh.

In 1760-61 Ala Singh captured Sherpur and Bhasaur which were the possessions of Nawab of Malerkotla. Nawab Bhikan Khan collected his forces and advanced towards Lalaucchi (15 kos west of Patiala), where the Patiala forces were camping. Kanwar Himat Singh, grandson of Ala Singh, was encamped at the village of Sadarpur. The clash between the contending forces took place near Kakra. The Afghan Chief Bhikan Khan was killed in the course of fighting and the Patiala forces returned victorious.⁵⁶

Ala Singh and the Durrani : From 1747 to 1766 Ahmad Shah Abdali came to India for a number of times. During his first invasion a decisive battle was fought at Manupur, ten miles north-west of Sirhind, on March 11, 1748. The Wazir of Delhi was killed by a shell but due to the dauntless and fierce attack of the dead Wazir's son Muin-ul-Mulk, the Afghan forces beat a retreat. This was Ahmad Shah Abdali's first appearance in the tract where Ala Singh was struggling to carve out a principality for himself. On the suggestion of Daya Lal, Ala Singh's agent at Delhi, that it was the time when the Phulkian

55. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 15-6 ; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-2.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 16; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 55; S.N. Banerje, p. 41.

It is more reliably believed that Bhikan Khan died in December 1763 in an engagement with Amar Singh not near Kakra but at Kalanjhar near Kotla. In 1761 Bhikan Khan was defeated and repulsed.

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chief by helping the imperial forces could win the support of the government. Ala Singh reached Manupur and participated in the foraging attacks on the Afghan invaders.⁵⁷ This was the first occasion when Ala Singh came in direct touch with the Imperial Government.

When after the fourth invasion of India by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1756-57, his son Timur Shah was returning to his country, with heavy booty from Delhi, Ala Singh in concert with other Sikh Sardars barred Timur's path at Sanaur and relieved him of half of his precious burden.⁵⁸

Ahmad Shah Durrani appointed Abdus Samad Mohammadzai as the governor of Sirhind in April 1757. Ala Singh's possessions were mostly situated within the jurisdiction of Sirhind. Abdus Samad wanted to punish Ala Singh for his having intercepted the looted treasures of Timur Shah. The Phulkian chief knowing the intentions of Abdus Samad, retired to Dhodian where there was a much stronger fort. Abdus Samad followed Ala Singh to Dhodian and besieged him there. The Pathan governor was defeated. Samad Khan reached Sirhind on January 12, 1758 and it was attacked and captured on March 21, 1758 by the combined forces of the Marathas, Ala Singh, Adina Beg and his other Sikh allies. The Marathas appointed Sadiq Beg as the new governor of Sirhind.⁵⁹ Before the occupation of Sirhind Ala Singh, who was pro-Maratha and anti-Abdali, was requested to send help and to meet Sadiq Beg Khan at Sanaur and Malhar Rao on his march to Sirhind. The help was given in the shape of two thousand soldiers who participated in the attack on Sirhind. But the meeting could not take place as Ala Singh did not agree to go to the Maratha camp.

During the third battle of Panipat, fought between the Marathas and the Durrani's, Ala Singh sent provisions for the Maratha army and fodder for their horses. The Afghans partially succeeded in preventing the same from reaching the Marathas. Ahmad Shah Durrani's allies like the Nawab of Malerkotla and Rai of Kot duly informed him about the convoys of grain which were being supplied by Ala Singh to the Marathas. We notice that before the battle of Panipat Ala Singh had actively helped the foes of Ahmad Shah Abdali and after the disaster

57. S. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-9.

many Martahas were given ready shelter in his territory.⁶⁰

According to the *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, Ahmad Shah sent a detachment for an attack on Barnala. Ala Singh was, then, residing at Munak and the capital was in charge of his wife *Mai* Fato and her grandson Kanwar Amar Singh. The *Mai* realising the impossibility of successfully opposing the Afghan army despatched four trusted emissaries Bhola Singh, Kashmiri Mal, Kanaihya Mal and Bajram Dhillon to meet Shah Vali Khan, the Wazir of Ahmad Shah Durrani, to sue for peace. She vacated Barnala along with her grandson and sent to Munak to join her husband. Barnala was given over to plunder but the above mentioned emissaries purchased the withdrawal of Afghans by payment of four lakh rupees as *nazarana*. Influence appears to have been brought to bear upon the Wazir Shah Vali Khan who from now always pleaded with the Shah for the ruler of Patiala. In consequence, Ala Singh was warmly received by Ahmad Shah, confirmed in his possessions and awarded a robe of honour and the title of 'Raja'.⁶¹ The *faujdar* of Sirhind was ordered to regard Ala Singh's possession separate from the territory under his jurisdiction. Ala Singh's jurisdiction was acknowledged to extend over 726 villages. The names of the *parganas* and the number of villages in each were as under : Sunam 224 villages, Samana 266, Haveli Sirhind 52, Sanaur 89, Karyat Rai Semu 4, Chhat 8, Banur 36, Massingan 17, Ghurram 6 and Mansurpur 23.⁶²

Ala Singh's status as territorial magnate was recognised and his position stabilised by the all-powerful man of the time—Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Sikhs felt enraged at the conduct of Ala Singh in receiving favours from Ahmad Shah Abdali. An attack on his territory was contemplated by the Sikhs, but they were restrained from implementing their designs by the friendly intervention of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Ala Singh justified his submission on the ground of expediency and assured his co-religionists that his views were in accordance with theirs

60. Rajwade, Vol. VI, p. 407 ; *Khazana-i-Amira*, p. 107.

According to Hari Ram Gupta, the following places contain Maratha families, descending from the refugees of 1761. Birchpur 40 families, Dola 15 families, Julana Mandi 10 families, Kaithal 80 families, Karsola (Jind State) 50 families, Manduthi near Asoda 20 families, Moi 6 families, Narwana 90 families, Phurlak 2 families, Rathal near Rohtak 15 families, Sargthal 2 families, Sikandarpur Majra 500 Maratha Brahmans, Thana on Rhotak-Kotli Road 150 families (vide Author's *Marathas and Panipat*, p. 288). *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. IV, p. 150, fn. 1.

61. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 16-17; Bute Shah, IV, p. 260; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

62. S. N. Benerjee, *op. cit.*, 75.

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and in proof thereof got his grandson Amar Singh formally baptised to Sikhism by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and in atonement of his conduct paid a fine of one lakh rupees.⁶³

On the invitation of Aqil Das of Jandiala the Durrani Chief again came to the Punjab in the beginning of 1762 and there was a bloody carnage or *Wada Ghallughara* near Malerkotla, killing at a very modest calculation ten thousand Sikhs. He marched upon Barnala also. The fort was taken and the place was set on fire.

In 1763, Zain Khan, the governor of Sirhind was killed by the Sikhs. They captured Sirhind and handed over the same to Ala Singh.⁶⁵

Qazi Nur Muhammad who accompanied Ahmad Shah Abdali's expedition of 1764-65 writes of Ala Singh : "No body else is so resourceful in the countries of the Punjab, Lahore and Sirhind as he is. He serves the Shah in his absence as well as in his presence and carries out his orders with wisdom and dignity."⁶⁵ The Shah gave recognition to Ala Singh's possession of the territory of Sirhind subject to the payment of an annual tribute of 3½ lakh rupees.⁶⁶

From a small beginning the territorial acquisition of Ala Singh underwent, through a long period of fifty years, a steady process of expansion which continued almost to the end of his life. After a very eventful career Ala Singh died of fever at Patiala on August 22, 1765 at the age of seventy.⁶⁷

Ala Singh's Character

Ala Singh was a virtuous man with a high sense of moral values. When staying at Longowal one day he went upstairs and happened to see a carpenter's daughter naked while taking her bath on the roof of her house. He took it as sinful and atoned for it by telling her father to adopt her as his own daughter. He himself met all the expenses of her marriage.⁶⁸ Once an old Brahman woman appealed to a saintly person Bhai Mul Chand for financial assistance for the marriage

63. Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 733; Ramjas, *Tawarikh-i-Riast Kapurthala*, p. 150 (ed. 1897); S. N. Benerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-6.

64. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 17; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-2.

65. Ganda Singh (edited), Qazi Nur Muhammad's *Jangnama*, p. 46.

66. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 17; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, p. 62.

67. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 18; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 560.

68. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 12-3; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, p. 62; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

of her daughter. The saintly Bhai, turning to the people assembled before him, told them that whosoever helped the old woman would get, with the grace of God, the same number of villages as the rupees given to her. Ala Singh brought all the rupees available with him at home to give to the woman. When asked by the Bhai as to the amount of the rupees he told that he did not count. The holy Bhai told him that he would also receive countless villages.⁶⁹ He continuously ran *langars* for the poor and the needy. His wife Fato, an equally virtuous lady, also looked after *langar*.⁷⁰ He was very hospitable and magnanimous. He wore a simple dress. He was a very tolerant and kind-hearted man. As the tradition goes once when his wife Fato was serving in the mess she offered hot *ghee* to a man partaking food from the *langar*. The man told her as to what should he do with the hot *ghee*. She told him to pour it on her head, which he did. When the matter was reported to Ala Singh he pacified her by saying that she was lucky to have *ghee* poured on her head by one of their own men in place of hot oil at the hands of the Muslims.⁷¹ This speaks for Ala Singh's tolerant disposition.

In diplomacy Ala Singh was par excellence. He plundered Ahmad Shah Durrani's foraging parties in 1748, robbed his son Timur Shah in 1757 and annoyed the Durrani in 1760 by supplying grain to Marathas. In 1764 he joined the *Dal Khalsa* in attacking Sirhind and killing its Governor Zain Khan. Despite all this he obtained the title of Raja and governorship of Sirhind from the Durrani. Ala Singh had pleased the Mughal Emperor, the Durrani invader and the *Dal Khalsa*. In the words of Hari Ram Gupta "Ala Singh may rightly be called Bismarck of the Sikhs. He had three balls in his hands, and by throwing them simultaneously into the air, he always caught them, never allowing any one to fall."⁷²

Ala Singh had married only one wife Fatto who bore three sons, Sardul Singh, Bhuma Singh and Lal Singh, all of whom died in the life time of their father, and a daughter Bibi Pardhan Kaur, who was born in 1718. She was married to Sham Singh Randhawa of village Ram Das in the Amritsar district. She became a widow, a short time after

69. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 13; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 62-3.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 12; Gian Singh, p. 562.

71. Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 562.

72. Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. IV, p. 154.

her marriage. She came back to live under the affectionate care of her father. She passed her life at Barnala and spent most of her income from a *jagir* of seventeen villages on charities. She died in 1789. Sardul Singh, the eldest son was born on June 16, 1715. He married as his first wife, the daughter of Chaudhary Suraj Mal, *Sardar* of Bhikhi, who became the mother of Kanwar Amar Singh. His second wife was the widow of his first cousin Jodh Singh whom he married according to *kerewa*, or *chadar pauna*. Sardul Singh died in 1753.⁷³

Bhuma Singh, the second son, born on August 21, 1721 left one daughter *Bibi* Rajinder Kaur. The youngest son, Lal Singh, born in 1723, died in 1757. He was childless.⁷⁴

When Ala Singh died there were two claimants to the chiefship, Himmat Singh and Amar Singh, the sons of Sardul Singh. Of these Himmat Singh was the elder by several years. He was born to the widow of Jodh Singh. Amar Singh, the second son of Sardul Singh was born on June 7, 1748 and was consequently seventeen years old when his grand father died.⁷⁵

MAHARAJA AMAR SINGH (1765-1781)

Amar Singh's Succession to Gaddi

When Ala Singh died at Patiala *Mai Fato* and Kanwar Amar Singh were at Barnala. Accompanied by Amar Singh she came post-haste to Patiala and installed Amar Singh on the *gaddi* as the successor of his grandfather. The Sardars who presented themselves on the occasion included Gurbakhsh Singh Kaleka, Hamir Singh Kaleka, Sukhdyal Kaleka, Desu Singh Jaid, Phula Singh, Qandhari Mal, Gulab Rai, Bakhshi La khna Doggar, Hari Singh Guhar, Kanha Mal, Gurdas Singh Sekhon, Mehar Singh Gurusaria, Nanu Singh Grewal and Surat Singh Sameka. They swore allegiance to the new Patiala ruler—Amar Singh.⁷⁶

Rebellion of Himmat Singh : At the time of Ala Singh's death Himmat Singh was at Hadiaya. When he reached Patiala Amar Singh had already been installed as the Raja. He is said to have taken possession of a great part of the town of Patiala and the neighbouring

73. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Cf Bute Shah, pp. 275-76; *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 10-11. S.N. Banerjee, pp. 102-03.

74. Bute Shah, IV, p. 276; *Tazkirah-i-Phulkiao*, p. 11

75. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 18; Lepel Griffin, pp. 29-30; Sayid Muhammad Hassan Khan, p. 64.

76. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 18; Cf. Bute Shah, IV, p. 261; Cf. Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 65-6.

areas. Amar Singh with the help of the rulers of Jind, Nabha and Kaithal, compelled Himmat Singh to retire from Patiala.⁷⁷ He came back to Hadiaya and planned war against his brother Amar Singh. He captured the fort of Dhodian (Bhawanigarh).⁷⁸ Amar Singh, in order to avoid the escalation of war, sent emissaries to Himmat Singh to negotiate a settlement. He expressed his willingness to grant half the territory and the other half including Patiala was to be retained by him. The offer was declined by Himmat Singh. An attempt at pacification was made by Bibi Rajinder Kaur, cousin of Amar Singh, by going on hunger strike at Bhawanigarh for seven days. Himmat Singh released all the men made captive during the occupation of the fort of Bhawanigarh. Amar Singh marched against Himmat Singh and besieged the town of Bhawanigarh. The opportune intercession of *Mai Fato* brought about the submission of Himmat Singh, who received the town of Bhawanigarh and certain villages as *jagir* from Amar Singh.⁷⁹ This took place in April 1767.

Amar Singh captured the town of Payal, near Ludhiana, from the Kotla Afghans, with the help of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and after that Isru which belonged to the same masters, Jassa Singh took one fourth of the revenue of the town. But later, by an arrangement with Amar Singh, the Ahluwalia chief became possessed of the whole of Isru.⁸⁰

Because of Patiala House's alignment with the Durrani invader—Ahmad Shah, the Sikhs, particularly of trans-Satluj areas of the Punjab, had turned hostile to the Phulkian chief. More than once they had been prevented from marching against Patiala. According to *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, after the accession of Amar Singh, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Baghel Singh visited Patiala in 1766. Perceiving the weak state defence of Patiala Baghel Singh suggested to the Ahluwalia chief a surprise attack on the place with a view to occupying it. The suggestion was brushed aside by Jassa Singh and they soon left Patiala.⁸¹

Ahmad Shah Durrani, during his last invasion of India in 1767

77. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Cf. Bute Shah, IV, p. 277; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 562; Balwant Singh, *Sidhu Braran da Ithas* (Punjabi), p. 72.

78. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 18.

79. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-1; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 562; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 79-80.

80. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 19; Gian Singh, p. 563; Lepel Griffin, p. 31.

81. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 19; Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 74-5.

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honoured Amar Singh with the title of '*Raja-i-Rajgan Bahadur*'. At Kara Bowana, 24 miles south of Ambala, a meeting took place between the Afghan king and Raja Amar Singh, when valuable presents were given to the latter with a flag and a drum, the insignia of an independent ruler. He was also permitted to strike coin in his name and he in his turn presented the king with a *nazarana* of a lakh of rupees.⁸²

After a row with the ruler of Malerkotla for a short while peace was restored between the two. In 1768 a punitive expedition was sent against Sardar Jodh Singh who was the chief of Kot Kapura. He was indiscreetly provocative in his conduct and utterances. It is said that he had a horse and a mare (both stolen from Phul) which he named as Ala and Fato. Raja Amar Singh was highly incensed on hearing this intolerable affront to his grandfather and grandmother.⁸³ Jhanda Singh was sent against Jodh Singh with a force. In the course of fighting which lasted only for three hours the Brar chief, Jodh Singh, died and his eldest son, Jit Singh, was also mortally wounded. Raja Amar Singh was very much distressed to hear of the death of the chief whose life he never intended to take.⁸⁴ The object was to chastise Jodh Singh for his puerile imprudence. Pinjore was captured, by the Patiala chief with the help of Hari Singh of Sialba, about 1770 A.D. Garib Das, the chief of Manimajra, also submitted to Patiala. Later Sialba was also occupied and Gurbakhsh Singh Dhillon was appointed *qiladar* of the place. The chief of Sialba appealed to some of the Sikh Sardars for help. They got Sialba released from Patiala forces inflicting heavy human loss on them. Among the slain was Bakhshi Malik Lakhna. Jhanda Singh and Mahan Singh were made captive and Nanu Mal received a wound.⁸⁵

Then came the turn of Bhatinda. The Raja accompanied the army of Bhatinda and after an encounter the town was occupied. On being defeated Sukhchain Singh Saboka withdrew to the fort of Gobindgarh which was close to the town of Bhatinda and made a bid to defend it against the Patiala forces which had besieged it.⁸⁶ Sukhchain Singh,

82. Lepel Griffin, p. 31; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 563; Muhammad Latif p. 327 (ed. 1891); Cf. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 19-20

83. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 21; S.N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-26; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, p. 81.

84. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 21; Bute Shah, IV, pp. 263-64; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, p. 81.

85. S.N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-29.

86. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 22; Bute Shah, IV, p. 261; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5.

finding himself closely invested, sent a message of surrender on condition that the siege was immediately raised and he was promised safety. Raja Amar Singh agreed to this and taking Kapur Singh, son of Sukhchain Singh, and five others as hostages for the fulfilment of the promise of surrender he returned to Patiala. For four months Sukhchain Singh evaded the evacuation of the fort, and then he approached the ruler of Patiala and informed him that he was ready to hand over the fort if hostages were released. Amar Singh detained Sukhchain Singh and released Kapur Singh who entered the fort of Bhatinda and made preparations for defence.⁸⁷ Sukhchain Singh, unable to bear the rigours of imprisonment, wrote to his son to make over the fort to the Patiala officers. The fort was surrendered to Patiala and for his maintenance Sukhchain Singh was given twelve villages.⁸⁸ The whole affair, from the inception of the siege of Bhatinda to the final occupation of the fort, took about two years from the end of 1769 to that of 1771.

Shortly thereafter, the Marathas under Janko Rao marched in the direction of Patiala in October 1772. Against the advice of *Mai Fato*, Raja Amar Singh sent off all his treasure and family jewels to Bhatinda which, lying amidst sandy wastes, was not likely to be attacked. The Marathas did not come beyond Pihowa (near Thanesar). In the absence of Raja Amar Singh from Patiala, it was attacked by Himmat Singh and was admitted into the fort by Sukhdas Kaleka who was, then, in charge of the fort.⁸⁹ Amar Singh hurried to Patiala. Finding himself unable to resist, Himmat Singh, on assurance of life and liberty, surrendered and died two years later in 1774, from excessive drinking at Longowal, and his estates of Bhawanigarh and Dirbah were resumed by Amar Singh.⁹⁰

About four miles to the north-east of Patiala there was a strong fort which had been built by Nawab Saif Khan and called Saifabad after his own name. Gul Khan, the principal follower of Saif Khan became its in charge after the death of the latter. Raja Amar Singh besieged the fort and battered its walls. Gul Khan surrendered the fort to Amar Singh.⁹¹

87. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkiani*, pp. 23-4; Bute Shah, IV, p. 261.

88. Bute Shah, IV, p. 261; *Tazkirah-i-Phulkiani*, p. 24.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 262; *Tazkirah-i-Phulkiani*, p. 26.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 262; *Tazkirah-i-Phulkiani*, p. 26.

91. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkiani*, pp. 29-30; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

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In 1774 Amar Singh also captured the fort of Beg'an in the Hissar district from the Bhattis.⁹²

In the year 1777, Raja Amar Singh sent a force under Chaudhary Daya Singh to overrun the districts of Faridkot and Kot Kapura but made no attempt to take formal possession of them.

In 1778 Raja Amar Singh again decided to attack Manimajra and Sialba. Gharib Das purchased place by paying a huge sum to the Patiala chief. Hari Singh, the ruler of Sialba, called Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Gurdit Singh and Diwan Singh Ladwa, Karam Singh Shahid of Shahzadpur, Gurbakhsh Singh of Ambala and some smaller chiefs to his help. The forces of Patiala were repulsed.⁹³ A little later when Hari Singh's supporters dispersed Amar Singh decided to avenge his defeat and collected his friends and relatives along with their contingents. By making payments to the few supporters of Hari Singh, Amar Singh was able to make Sialba chief to come to Patiala where peace was concluded without bloodshed.⁹⁴ Territory of Desu Singh, supporter of Hari Singh Sialba, was restored to him.

Nawab Majad-ud-Doula Abdul Ahd, minister at Delhi, was determined to make an effort to recover the Malwa country from the Sikhs. He departed from Delhi in November 1779 with a big force and was accompanied by prince Farukhanda Bakht.⁹⁵ He reached Karnal without meeting any resistance and there he was joined by Sardar Bhagel Singh Karor Singhia, Sahib Singh Khundawala and Karam Singh Shahid.⁹⁶ The envoys of Bhai Desu Singh of Kaithal had accompanied the Nawab from Delhi. Desu Singh was reputed to be rich. On a charge of not having paid his arrears of revenue he was seized and four lakh rupees were demanded from him as a fine. He was able to pay three lakh rupees and for the payment of the balance, he sent his son Lal Singh as a hostage.⁹⁷

The Nawab marched on, thinking, that he would not meet with opposition and at the village of Ghurram, about 16 miles from Patiala,

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-33.

93. Lapel Griffin, *op. cit.*, 43-4; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 107-11.

94. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 36-9; Bute Shah, IV, p. 266; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 569. Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, p. 112.

95. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 40; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 113-14.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 40; Lapel Griffin, pp. 47-8; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, p. 114.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-1; Bute Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-68; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 114-15.

he was met by Diwan Nanu Mal whom the Raja had sent to express his devotion to the Delhi government. In the meantime Raja Amar Singh had invited Jai Singh and Haqiqat Singh Kanaihyas, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Tara Singh Gaiba, Jodh Singh of Wazirabad, Dal Singh, Lehna Singh and Gujar Singh and many others,⁹⁸ while at Patiala, the Phulkian chiefs of Jind, Nabha, Bhadaur and Malod had collected all their troops. The Nawab was terrified and he thought of immediate retreat. Bhagel Singh told him that the Sikhs would not allow him a safe retreat unless they were given money. Bhagel Singh got the greater portion of the three lakhs of rupees which he had extracted from Desu Singh. He gave a part of that amount to the Sikh chiefs,⁹⁹ who retired to their places and the Nawab retreated to Delhi.

Raja Amar Singh died on February 5, 1781, of dropsy brought on by excessive drinking.¹⁰⁰ He lived only upto thirty four years of age.

In a short span of life, Amar Singh made Patiala the most powerful state between the Jamuna and the Satluj. He had a quick intelligence, firm determination and a strong arm, and his success was well-deserved.

MAHARAJA SAHIB SINGH (1781-1813)

The new ruler of Patiala, Raja Sahib Singh, who was born on August 18, 1773,¹⁰¹ was a young boy of a little more than seven at the time of his accession to the throne in 1781.¹⁰² Through the influence of Rani Hukman, the grandmother of the young Raja, Diwan Nanu Mal was appointed Prime Minister.

Soon after the young chief's accession he had to face rebellions at Bhawanigarh by its governor Mahan Singh, the brother of *Mai Deso*, step-mother of Raja Sahib Singh, at Kot Sumer, headed by Rajo, the widow of Bakhsho Singh of Saboka and at Bhikhi by Ala Singh, brother of Raja Amar Singh's widow *Rani Khem Kaur*. All these rebellions were suppressed by Nanu Mal by his timely and adequate action.¹⁰³

98. Bute Shah, IV, *op. cit.*, p. 267; *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 40-1.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 268; *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 41; Sayie Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 114-15.

100. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 41; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

101. Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, p. 120; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 571.

102. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 42; Gian Singh, p. 571.

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-4; Bute Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-71; Lepel Griffin, pp. 52-3; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 120-23.

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Rani Hukman's death gave a setback to the position of Diwan Nanu Mal. The Diwan's enemies Rani Khem Kaur, Soman Lal Dhali, Bibi Pardhan Kaur, grand-aunt of Raja Sahib Singh and some others got him arrested as he was lying at Anandpur where he was wounded by Khurram Beg and sent him a prisoner to Patiala. Rani Rajinder Kaur of Phagwara, a first cousin sister of Raja Amar Singh, came to Patiala and got Nanu Mal released and reinstated in his post as Prime Minister.¹⁰⁴

Nanu Mal, finding that he could not depend upon the support of the Patiala nobles in order to restore order, opened negotiations with Dhara Rao, a Maratha leader who had been moving about near Delhi. Some Sikh chiefs as Bhagel Singh, Diwan Singh Ladwa, Bhanga Singh and Mehtab Singh of Thanesar had joined Dhara Rao. Bhagel Singh arranged matters with the Marathas, who consented to assist Nanu Mal for a consideration of two lakh rupees against those who had revolted against the Patiala State. Dhara Rao came to Karnal and was joined by Nanu Mal, Rani Rajinder Kaur and Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind. The opponents and rebels of the state got frightened. The Patiala allies attacked Banur. It was under Singhpurias who had earlier been paying half share of the revenue to Patiala as Raja Amar Singh had helped them to conquer it. Khushal Singh, the Singhpuria chief, stopped the payment of Patiala share. Nanu Mal, by forced contributions from the chiefs and *zamindar* of Banur and the adjoining areas, managed to pay the Maratha two lakh rupees as agreed. The Marathas returned to Karnal.¹⁰⁵

In 1787, Raja Sahib Singh was married to Rattan Kaur, daughter of Sardar Ganda Singh Bhangi.¹⁰⁶

In 1788 another Maratha leader Amba Rao assisted by Ghulam Qadir Khan, the son of Zabita Khan Rohilla, invaded the territory of Patiala but could not achieve much as the Rohilla Chief had retired towards Delhi probably after a quarrel with the Maratha invader.¹⁰⁷

104. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6; Bute Shah, IV, p. 272; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-26; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 572-73.

105. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-9; Cf. Khushwaqat Rai, p. 117; Bute Shah, IV, pp. 274-77; Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-27.

106. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 575; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-32.

107. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Gian Singh, p. 575; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, p. 137.

When Raja Sahib Singh was fourteen years of age, on the instigation of some of his men, he began to hate Nanu Mal bitterly.

The Marathas again marched northwards, under the command of Rane Khan Dadaji and Ali Bahadur. Patiala was their target. Nanu Mal advised the ladies at the palace to leave Patiala for Munak or Bhatinda. Rani Rajinder Kaur did not agree.¹⁰⁸ She asked Diwan Nanu Mal to negotiate with the invaders and if necessary to buy them off from his own pocket. The Diwan had no money to pay. The Maratha army appeared before Patiala and encamped at Sular, two miles from the town. Nanu Mal was not able to pay sufficient amount to the Marathas. They besieged the fort of Saifabad known as Bahadurgarh. The Marathas demanded *nazarana* which Rani Rajinder Kaur was not willing to pay. She sent her forces against them to Saifabad. After occasional skirmishes between the Marathas and the Patiala forces for a month and a half the Marathas retired to Delhi.¹⁰⁹

When Nanu Mal was accompanying the Marathas out of the Patiala state, Sahib Singh confiscated his property. When Nanu Mal was returning from Karnal, he heard about the Raja's action against him and took refuge with Karam Singh of Shahabad.¹¹⁰

Rajinder Kaur, who had accompanied the Marathas to Mathura to settle things with Scindia himself, came back to find Raja Sahib Singh turned against her due to the instigation of the Raja's supporters that her growing power was a danger to his safety and dignity.¹¹¹ Despite her serious attempts to see Sahib Singh he persistently avoided her. She took it as an insult and took to bed and died in Patiala after a short illness, in 1791.¹¹² "Rani Rajinder (Kaur) was one of the most remarkable women of her age. She possessed all the virtues which men pretend are their own—courage, perseverance, and sagacity—without any mixture of the weakness which men attribute to women."¹¹³

Nanu Mal, losing all hope to re-establish his position, died at

108. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 53-6; Gian Singh, pp. 576-77.

109. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-59; Sayid, Muhammad Hasan Khan, pp. 145-46; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 577-78.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 61; *Ibid.*, p. 147; Gian Singh, p. 578.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 62; Bute Shah, IV, pp. 284-85 (2nd copy); Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

112. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, p. 149; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 578.

113. Lepel Griffin, p. 67; Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

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Malerkotla in 1792. Sahib Singh called his sister Sahib Kaur to Patiala, who was married to Jaimal Singh Kanaibya of Fatehgarh near Dinanagar in Gurdaspur district, and proclaimed her as his Prime Minister,¹¹⁴ at the age of 18. She managed the affairs both in office and in the battle-field most successfully. As an administrator, general and diplomat she was in no way less than her aunt, Rani Rajinder Kaur.

When she was at Patiala, her husband Jaimal Singh had been imprisoned by his cousin Fateh Singh. At the head of a strong contingent she hurried to Fatehgarh and after a vehement assault she got her husband released and restored to him the charge of Fatehgarh.

In 1794 a large Maratha force under Anta Rao and Lachhman Rao, crossed the Jamuna and marched towards Patiala. Sahib Kaur at the head of 7000 men marched to meet the Marathas near Muradpur, leaving her brother Raja Sahib Singh in his *zanana* at Patiala. Even in the face of heavy odds she did not lose heart and inspired her soldiers to victory against the Marathas who were much larger in number and superior in equipment. The invaders retired towards Karnal.¹¹⁵ Sahib Kaur's role was indeed noble and exemplary. In character, in statesmanship and in bravery she occupied a very prominent place.

In due course of time Sahib Singh started showing coldness towards Sahib Kaur. She was charged of having kept the elephant given by the Raja of Nahan as a return for the services rendered by her in restoring order in the state. It was also alleged that she had built, in 1795, a fort near Sunam, in her *jagir*, without her brother's permission.

Sahib Kaur left Patiala in disgust and went to Bharian, where her new fort stood. The Raja wanted her to go to her husband at Fatehgarh but she was not prepared to submit. Sahib Singh led his forces against her but some courtiers made him return telling him as to how bad it would look to attack his sister.¹¹⁶ During the period of her illness Sahib Kaur is said to have come to Patiala of her own in 1799 and died there a few days later,¹¹⁷ at the young age of 26.

114. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, p. 68; Gian Singh, p. 579.

115. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72; Gian Singh, pp. 580-81; Muhammad Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

116. *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 76-7; Gian Singh, p. 585; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-71.

117. *Ibid.*, p. 77; Lepel Griffin, p. 79; Gian Singh, p. 585; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh visited Patiala in July 1806 to mediate between Sahib Singh and Jaswant Singh of Nabha in a dispute over a village named Doladi. Ranjit Singh visited Patiala again next year, that is, in 1807, on the invitation of Sahib Singh to resolve the dispute between the Raja of Patiala and his Rani Aus Kaur.¹¹⁸ On both the occasions Sahib Singh gave a befitting reception to Ranjit Singh.

Vide the Treaty of Amritsar (24 April, 1809), concluded between Ranjit Singh and the East India Company, the Cis-Satluj territories including Sahib Singh's state of Patiala passed under the protection of the East India Company. Patiala came under the advice of a British Resident.

Sahib Singh's state included the *parganas* of Bhatinda, Hudiaya, Barnala, Sherpur, Sunam., Mansur Pur, Dhodhian, Munak, Dirbha, Samana, Sanaur, Patiala, Ghanaur, Rajgarh, Murdanpur, Lalru, Rohru, Banur, Chhat, Sirhind, Payal, Amargarh, Lasoi and Ghurram.¹¹⁹

Raja Sahib Singh suddenly fell ill and died on the 26th of March 1813.¹²⁰ In the words of, Albel Singh who was one of the favourite courtiers of Sahib Singh, "whether the Raja is an *avtar* or what he is; but though at times he is a fool and at others a mad-man, he yet sometimes possesses uncommon quickness, and whatever he determines on himself he pursues with uncommon obstinacy; and he often acts himself when he is supposed to be governed by others, and when, in fact, we dare not oppose him, lest he should suppose us inimical and rob us of our heads. The admitted loss or gain of lakhs or the ruin or prosperity of his country, are of no consideration in competition with his will or humour."¹²¹ His contemporary writers held him subject to 'habitual derangement of intellect'

MAHARAJA KARAM SINGH (1813-1845)

Karam Singh was born on October 12, 1797 and ascended the *gaddi* of Patiala on June 30, 1813 at the age of fifteen.¹²²

During the fight between the Gurkhas under Amar Singh Thapa

118. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, II, pp. 65-66; Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

119. Khushwaqat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

120. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 141; *Tazkirah-i-Phulkian*, pp. 100-101; Gian Singh, p. 596; Khalifa Sayid Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

121. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

122. Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 259; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 597.

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and the East India Company in 1814 the Patiala forces helped the British.

Rani Aus Kaur, the mother of the new Raja had been looking after the administration of the state for some time.¹²³ She had increased the *jagir* of Rs. 50,000 which had been granted in 1807, for her maintenance, and that of her son to two lakhs of rupees. Finding her son, Karam Singh, showing displeasure with her, Aus Kaur, moved to Sanaur and shifted her *toshakhana* to that place. Raja Karam Singh complained to the Political Agent of the East India Company to ask his mother to surrender the surplus estate and the valuable effects of the *toshakhana*. She decided to leave Patiala but she was persuaded not to go, and she consented to have good relations with her son. Here ended the political career of Rani Aus Kaur in 1828.¹²⁴

Soon thereafter Raja Karam Singh was confronted with the extravagant claims and pretensions of his half-brother Kanwar Ajit Singh. The Kanwar went to reside at Delhi. In 1823 he adopted the title of 'Maharaja Rajgan Maharaja Ajit Singh Mohinder Bahadur.' He had no right to adopt any title. Raja Karam Singh was anxious to make friends with him. Ajit Singh desired the territory to be divided and a great portion of the revenue alienated for his benefits. Ultimately he agreed to accept Rs. 50,000 a year and later came back to Patiala.¹²⁵

The old dispute between Patiala and Nabha over the village of Doladi, which had been settled by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1807, was again revived in 1827. Nabha was accusing the Doladi villagers of encroaching on the disputed land, and Patiala was retorting. Captain Murray fixed the boundary line which pleased neither of the parties. It was slightly in favour of Patiala. Nabha appealed against it but captain Murray's decision was confirmed by the special commissioners appointed to review Murray's decision.¹²⁶

With the coming of Patiala under the protection of the East India Company with effect from 1809 the ruler of the state became subservient to the will of the British. Every major or minor matter relating to the state was referred to the British Resident or the Government. Hence it ceased to exist as an independent state.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

124. *Ibid.*, pp. 264-69.

125. *Ibid.*, pp. 273-76; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-57.

126. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-60.

Raja Karam Singh died on December 23, 1845,¹²⁷ the day after the battle of Ferozshahr, at the age of forty seven. According to James Skinner, during Raja Karam Singh's time, the annual revenue of the state amounted to about 24 lakhs of rupees and the strength of his army comprising cavalry and infantry was about 5000.¹²⁸ He was succeeded by his son Narinder Singh.

MAHARAJA NARINDER SINGH (1845-1862)

Narinder Singh was born on November 26, 1824 and succeeded to his father on January 18, 1846.¹²⁹ He was, then, twenty three years of age. In the war between the Lahore Durbar and the British Government he sided with the British and received a *sanad* from the Governor General in September 1847 in recognition of his services to them. Narinder Singh bound himself to the suppression of *sati*, infanticide and dealings in slaves within his territories.

In 1857-58 the Raja of Patiala stood boldly on the side of the British and showed conspicuous loyalty to them. The king of Delhi sent him a letter asking his aid against the British Government and promising rewards, but the Maharaja forwarded the letter in original to the British authorities. Narinder Singh was given the following title in 1858 by the English : "*Farzand-i-Khas, Doulat-i-Englishia, Manzur-i-Amir-ul-Zaman, Omerah, Maharaja Dhiraj, Rajeshar Sri Maharaj-i-Rajgan Narinder Singh Mahendar Bahadur.*"¹³⁰ He died of fever on November 13, 1862,¹³¹ in the thirty ninth year of his age and the seventeenth year of his reign.

MAHARAJA MAHENDAR SINGH (1862-1876)

Mahendar Singh, who was born on September 16, 1852, succeeded his father Narinder Singh, on January 29, 1863, at the age of only a little above ten and the affairs of state were entrusted to a Council of Regency. On February 26, 1870, the Council of Regency was dissolved and Mahendar Singh having completed his eighteenth year was invested

127. Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

128. James Skinner, p. 184 (M.S. 1830).

129. Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 346; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 602.

130. Muhammad Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

131. Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 461; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 528; Gian Singh, p. 614.

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with full administrative powers.¹³³ His education was conducted by Ram Chandra, the great mathematician of Delhi. In May 1870, he was created a Knight of 'The Most Exalted Order of the Star of India' by the British.¹³⁴ He introduced many reforms in his state. In May 1870 he made a donation of Rs 56,600 to the Punjab University College, Lahore, besides the amount already given.¹³⁵ He also subscribed liberally to many charitable institutions. On the 15th of October of the same year he formally opened the Satluj bridge at the request of Henry Durand, Lt. Governor of the Punjab. The foundation-stone of Mahendra College, Patiala, was laid during his time on March 30, 1875 by Lord Northbrook, the then Viceroy of India.¹³⁶ He died in the night intervening April 13 and 14, 1876, in the twenty fourth year of his age, of disease contracted through excessive use of alcoholic liquors.¹³⁷

MAHARAJA RAJINDER SINGH (1876-1900)

Rajinder Singh, who was born on May 25, 1872, succeeded to his father at the age of four. The installation ceremony was performed on January 6, 1877 by Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy of India.¹³⁸ The affairs of state were entrusted to a Council of Regency which was dissolved in October 1899¹⁴⁰ and the Maharaja was handed over the administrative power of the state. Rajinder Singh was an intelligent, educated and a capable ruler. He was very fond of polo and hunting. He was known for his generosity and was keenly interested in the promotion of education. At the time of the opening of Khalsa College, Amritsar, he gave one and a half lakh rupees. He was completely on the side of the British. The Maharaja personally participated in the fighting against the Afridis. In recognition of his services he was given the title of 'The Most Exalted Star of India' by the English.¹⁴¹ Maharaja Rajinder Singh died on November 8, 1900 at the age of 28.

133. *Ibid.*, pp. 570-71.

134. *Ibid.*, p. 574; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 616.

135. Muhammad Hasan Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 573; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 615.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 734.

137. *Ibid.*, pp. 759-62; Muhammad Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

138. *Ibid.*, p. 765.

139. *Ibid.*, p. 777.

140. Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

141. *Ibid.*, p. 623.

MAHARAJA BHUPINDER SINGH (1900-1938)

Bhupinder Singh, who was born on October 12, 1891,¹⁴² succeeded to his father in 1900. He was educated at Chiefs College, Lahore. The Council of Regency was constituted to look after the state affairs during the minority of the new ruler. He assumed administrative control in 1909.¹⁴³ He participated in the coronation celebrations in Delhi in 1911. He helped the British in the First World War (1914-18). He attended the War Conference in London in 1918.¹⁴⁴ He was a first rate sportsman, an astute politician and an able administrator. He was the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes for a long time. In 1928 he represented the Indian States Committee.¹⁴⁵ He also represented them at the Round Table Conference in London in 1930. He was a great patron of art, education and literature and had a big collection of historical and artistic interests.

From his honorary military rank of Major-General he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General in 1931. In 1935 he attended the Silver Jubilee of George V in London. He died on March 23, 1938, due to haemorrhage. He remained loyal to the British. As a devoted Sikh he proclaimed, 'I am a Sikh and must live and die as a Sikh.'

Almost all branches of state administration received the personal and careful attention of Maharaja Bhupinder Singh. There was, throughout, a lot of activity in the internal and external matters relating to the state. District boundaries were redrawn and civil administration was thoroughly improved.

He raised Punjabi to the position of court language as early as 1910. He got Gurmukhi type-writer prepared from America.

The Maharaja had a great love for music. Ali Bux, the reputed disciple of Ustad Tanras Khan was employed as court musician at Patiala. Under Bhupinder Singh's patronage the Patiala *gharana* of music attained national prominence.

Maharaja Bhupinder Singh's manoeuvres against Ripudaman Singh of Nabha went a long way to the latter's forced abdication.

142. *Ibid.*, p. 619; Somerset Playne (Compiler) 'The State of Patiala', *Indian States*, p. 238. (The Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co. 6 West Harding Street, London, E.C., 1921-22.)

143. Somerset Playne, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

144. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

145. Ganda Singh, 'Obituary—Maharaja Yadavindra Singh of Patiala,' *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. VIII, 1974, p. 513.

This resulted in bitter criticism of the Patiala ruler by the Sikh leadership. The treatment of Sewa Singh Thikriwala at the hands of the Patiala government also proved a strong irritant between the Akali leaders and the Maharaja.

Maharaja Bhupinder Singh was liberal in his religious outlook. The educational institutions such as the Benaras Hindu University, The Aligarh Muslim University and the Khalsa College, Amritsar, received grants worth lakhs of rupees from him.

The Maharaja had a commanding and domineering personality. In a gathering of Indian princes, besides him, other Maharajas looked 'rustic.' Such was his regal presence.¹⁴⁶

Lord John making observations about him wrote, "from his accession in 1900 to his death in 1938 Maharaja Bhupinder Singh was Patiala, was perhaps the Sikh nation and even for many in Europe, was India."¹⁴⁷ There is no denying the fact that during his life time Maharaja Bhupinder Singh dominated the Indian princely order like a colossus.

MAHARAJA YADVINDRA SINGH (1938-1948)

He was born on January 7, 1913.¹⁴⁸ He received his education at Aitchison Chiefs College, Lahore. After obtaining his diploma in 1930 he accompanied his father to England on the occasion of the First Round Table Conference. During his wide and extensive tour of European countries he met great men of international fame. He also visited big libraries and noted museums and historical monuments there. On his return to the Punjab he joined Police Training School at Phillaur where his deep sense of discipline, unflinching punctuality and hard work and living like a commoner among his fellow trainees won for him the admiration of one and all. On the completion of his training he was appointed Superintendent of Police, Patiala District, in which capacity he often, even at the risk of his life, led his men personally against armed gangs of notorious dacoits. In 1933 he was promoted to the rank of the Inspector General of Police of the state.

When a terrible earthquake hit Quetta on May 31, 1935, burying under its debris some forty thousand men, women and children, the

146. K.M. Panikkar, *An Autobiography*, pp. 85-6 (Madras, 1977).

147. Lord John, *The Maharajas*, p. 161 (London, 1972).

148. Ganda Singh, 'Obituary—Maharaja Yadvindra Singh of Patiala,' *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. VIII, p. 514.

heir-apparent of Patiala, Yadvindra Singh joined hands with the military officers in the rescue work and earned the respect and admiration of all who saw him working with his own hands among the corpse-full debris of the ruined city.

After the death of his father he assumed charge of administration of the state on March 23, 1938.¹⁴⁹ In the Second World War he helped the British. He visited many war-fronts to enthuse and inspire the *jawans*. He became the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes in 1943. When after the failure of the Cripps Mission in 1942, the British Government sent to India the Cabinet Mission under the leadership of Lord Pethick Lawrence, the Maharaja of Patiala was often the central figure in the negotiations. On August 1, 1947, twenty two rulers of states, with Maharaja Yadvindra Singh leading, announced their decision to accede to the Indian Union and the other rulers followed in quick succession.

After the partition of the country the Maharaja of Patiala came to the help of the distressed refugees from Pakistan, welcoming them to come and settle down in Patiala. They were given all possible facilities in their rehabilitation.

When the Punjab states were leagued together Maharaja Yadvindra Singh was appointed the *Rajparmukh* (Governor) on August 20, 1948¹⁵⁰ in which capacity he worked upto 1956 when the Pepsu (Patiala and East Punjab States Union) was merged with the Punjab. Later he worked as ambassador to Italy and Holland. He died on June 17, 1974 at Hague in Netherlands due to heart attack.¹⁵¹ His body was flown to India and cremated at Patiala on June 21, in the family crematorium, the *Shahi Samadhan* with full state honours. He left behind him his wife Maharani Mohinder Kaur, his two daughters and two sons Sardar Amarinder Singh and Sardar Malvinder Singh. With the death of Maharaja Yadvindra Singh, who was the ninth in the line which began with Ala Singh, came to a close the history of the ruling house of Patiala.

NABHA STATE

The Nabha and Jind families descended from the same ancestor, Tiloka, the eldest son of Phul. Tiloka had two sons Gurditta (Gurdit

149. Ganda Singh, *A Bibliography of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union*, p. 42.

150. *Ibid.*

151. Ganda Singh, 'Obituary—Maharaja Yadvinder Singh of Patiala,' *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. VIII, p. 526.

Singh) and Sukhchain, (Singh). From the elder Gurditta descended the Nabha family and from the younger Sukhchain, the Jind family.¹⁵²

On the death of Tiloka in 1687 his elder son Gurditta founded the village of Dhanaula and later the town of Sangrur, which remained the headquarter of Nabha state till it was seized by the ruler of Jind.¹⁵³

SARDAR HAMIR SINGH

Gurditta died in 1754 and was succeeded by his grandson Hamir Singh, his only son Surat (or Suratya) Singh, having died two years earlier, leaving two sons, Hamir Singh and Kapur Singh.¹⁵⁴ Hamir Singh was a brave and energetic chief and added very largely to his possessions. According to James Skinner, Hamir Singh was a man of strong determination and valour. He was deeply kind to his subjects and kept their well-being in mind. He was fond of good weapons. He always very much appreciated and honoured the army personnels.¹⁵⁵ He founded the town of Nabha in 1755. In 1759 he obtained the possession of Bhadson and in 1763, having joined Ala Singh of Patiala and other Sikh Sardars in the battle of Sirhind, when Zain Khan, its Afghan Governor, was killed, he obtained Amlah as his share.¹⁵⁶ In 1776 he conquered Rori from Rahimdad Khan. Hamir Singh was the first ruler of Nabha who established a mint which may be accepted as sign of his complete independence.¹⁵⁷

In 1774 Gajpat Singh of Jind, on a frivolous pretext, took Hamir Singh prisoner and seized the strong town of Sangrur along with many villages, and it was never restored.¹⁵⁸

As the story goes, at the time of Mahan Singh's marriage with the daughter of Gajpat Singh, the Sukarchakia chief came with a large marriage party of about ten thousand horsemen. Their horses and camels were let loose to graze in the neighbouring pasture (*bir*) which belonged to the Nabha State. Yaqub Khan an officer of Hamir Singh of Nabha attacked the Jind party that looked after the animals. After

152. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 628.

153. *Ibid.*, p. 381; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 628-29.

154. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 381; Gian Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 629; Kanaihya Lal, *op. cit.*, p. III; Muhammad Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 332; Cf Khushwaqat Rai, p. 121.

155. James Skinner, *Kitab-i-Haqiq-i-Rajgan* also called *Tazkirat-ul-Umra*, p. 179. (MS. 1830, Dr Ganda Singh's Personal collection, Patiala.)

156. Lepel Griffin, p. 382; Gian Singh, p. 629; Muhammad Latif, p. 332.

157. Lepel Griffin, p. 382.

158. Khushwaqat Rai, p. 121; Lepel Griffin, p. 382; Gian Singh, p. 631.

the departure of the marriage party Gajpat Singh feigned illness and called Hamir Singh and Yaqub Khan to Jind and tortured Yaqub Khan to death and imprisoned Hamir Singh. He occupied Amloh, Bhadson and Sangrur. On the intercession of Amar Singh of Patiala Gajpat Singh released Hamir Singh and restored his possessions of Amloh and Bhadson and kept Sangrur with him permanently.

RAJA JASWANT SINGH (1783-1840)

At the time of Hamir Singh's death his son and successor Jaswant Singh, who was born in 1775, was only eight years of age. Rani Desu, one of late Hamir Singh's widows, was appointed the new ruler's regent to carry on the administration, in preference to the mother of Jaswant Singh. Desu had held her own bravely against Jind during the imprisonment of her husband, recovering most of her territory which had been seized by Gajpat Singh, with the aid of troops lent by her son-in-law Sahib Singh Bhangi of Gujrat.¹⁵⁹ She died suddenly in 1790.

Jaswant Singh later entered into an alliance with the British. He refused to aid the Maratha prince Jaswant Rao Holkar who was advancing towards Amritsar in 1805. In 1809 the Nabha Chief put himself under the British protection along with other Cis-Satluj or Malwa Chiefs. By a *sanad* signed by the Governor-General he was exempted from the payment of tribute.

In September 1810, Muhammad Akbar Shah, the Emperor of Delhi, conferred on the Raja the title of *Brar Bans Sarmour Malvindra Bahadur*. The Raja assisted the British Government in the Gorkha campaign and in the expedition to Bikaner. Jaswant Singh died on the 22nd of May 1840, in the sixty sixth year of his age.¹⁶⁰

According to James Skinner, the boundaries of Jaswant Singh's state extended to Dharmkot in the west, to Patiala in the east, to Ludhiana in the north and to Samana in the south. His state comprised 225 villages. The annual revenue accruing from his state amounted to two lakh and forty thousand rupees. His army, consisting of foot and horse, totalled about one thousand men.¹⁶¹

RAJA DEVINDER SINGH (1840-1846)

Jaswant Singh was succeeded by his son Devinder Singh who was

159. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 382; Gian Singh, p. 632.

160. *Ibid.*, p. 396.

161. James Skinner, *op. cit.*, 180.

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born on Bhadon 22, 1879 B.K. (September 5, 1822 A.D.) then in his eighteenth year. The *gaddi* installation ceremony took place on October 15, 1840.¹⁶² He was a weak-minded person and was always surrounded by flatterers who impressed upon his mind false notions of his importance and dignity. He introduced absurd forms of etiquette into his court, requiring his courtiers to prostrate themselves when they paid their compliments or spoke to him.¹⁶³ During the war between the British and the Lahore government the Nabha Chief showed sympathy with the Lahore Durbar and intentionally failed to provide supplies on the road from Kalka to Rahana. As a punishment the British confiscated the estates of Deharu and Amloh belonging to the Nabha state, and after the conclusion of the war the ruler of Nabha was not allowed to attend the viceregal Durbar at Ludhiana, where all chiefs of the protected states came to pay their respects to the Governor-General. After a formal inquiry into his conduct Devinder Singh was ordered to be deposed and his seven year old son installed on the *gaddi* under the guardianship of a council headed by his grandmother *Mai* Chand Kaur. Devinder Singh was first removed to Mathura and then to Lahore in December 1855 where he died on Maghar *Vadi* 11, 1922 B.K., November 14-15, 1865.¹⁶⁴

RAJA BHARPUR SINGH (1846-1863)

Raja Bharpur Singh born on Assuj *Sudi* 9, 1897 B.K. (October 5, 1840), succeeded his father Devinder Singh and attained his age of discretion a few months after the Mutiny broke out in 1857. He expressed his desire to personally conduct operations against mutineers at Delhi. But in consequence of his young age he was not allowed by the British who only accepted a small contingent of 300 troops for service in Delhi. His troops rendered help to the British at Ludhiana and Jullundur also. For his services he was not liberally rewarded by the British. A portion of the confiscated Jhajjar territory with an income of Rs. 1,06,000 a year, was granted to the Raja in perpetuity. The right of adoption was conferred upon him by a *sanad* granted in May 1860. His honorary titles were increased. Lord Elgin, Viceroy of India, gave Raja Bharpur Singh a seat in the Legislative Council in September 1863. He died on the 9th of November of the same year,

162. Gian Singh, p. 640.

163. Muhammad Latif, pp. 332-33; Gian Singh, p. 641.

164. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

of a severe fever contracted from over exertion.¹⁶⁵ He died without a son and, therefore, was succeeded by his younger brother, Bhagwan Singh. The ceremony of installation took place on the 17th February 1864.¹⁶⁶

RAJA BHAGWAN SINGH (1863-1871)

Raja Bhagwan Singh was born on November 30, 1842. At the time of accession to *gaddi* there were two factions among the courtiers. One group was led by Gurbakhsh Singh Mansahia and the other by Munshi Sahib Singh. The group of Sahib Singh charged the other group with killing Raja Bharpur Singh by poisoning. Raja Bhagwan Singh was also involved in this charge. Gurbakhsh Singh Mansahia was tried at law court and exonerated. Munshi Sahib Singh and seven of his group were imprisoned on the plea of levelling a wrong charge against Gurbakhsh Singh. During this time the administrative affairs of the state were conducted by a council. After three years the British restored the rights of the Raja. Raja Bhagwan Singh died on May 31, 1871 due to tuberculosis after a four-month long illness. Raja Bhagwan Singh had three wives none of which produced any child. With this ended the line of Sardar Gurdit Singh.

MAHARAJA HIRA SINGH (1871-1911)

Hira Singh, son of Sukha Singh of Badrukhan, was born on December 19, 1843.

After the death of Bhagwan Singh it was decided to find a successor from the Phul family. Diwan Hakim Rai, considering Hira Singh of Badrukhan to be a legitimate and competent man, recommended him for the *gaddi* of Nabha, under the signatures of all the courtiers of the state. The British deputed Lepel Griffin and the rulers of Patiala and Jind to inquire from the courtiers of Nabha about the legitimate claimant to the *gaddi* of Nabha. Hira Singh's name figured out and he was selected to succeed Bhagwan Singh. The succession took place on August 10, 1871.¹⁶⁷

Hira Singh remained loyal to the British. After the Kukas' row with the butchers of Malerkotla, when the former left the town, Hira Singh's contingent sent under the command of his minister Ali Khan,

165. *Ibid*, p. 433; Gian Singh, p. 653.

166. Gian Singh, p. 653.

167. *Ibid*, p. 658.

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captured them and took them to Malerkotla where they were blown off with the orders of Mr Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana. In the British combat with the Afghans of Kabul in 1878 Hira Singh sent his contingent of 700 to fight on the side of the British for which he was richly rewarded by the latter.

Raja Hira Singh did a lot to develop the state in various fields. Many new buildings were erected, including a cantonment, a hospital, a jail and a magnificent palace known as Hira Mahal. An Intermediate College along with a hostel was started at Nabha. Big Nabha houses were built at Lahore and Simla. New courts in the districts were built. *Pucca* or metalled roads were constructed joining Nabha with Patiala, Khanna and Malerkotla.¹⁶⁸ He was keenly interested in works of public welfare.

Hira Singh's four wives could produce only one son Ripudaman Singh for him. Hira Singh died on December 24, 1911.

MAHARAJA RIPUDAMAN SINGH (1911-1923)

After Hira Singh's death his son Ripudaman Singh, who was born on March 4, 1883, formally succeeded to *gaddi* on January 24, 1912. Hira Singh had made a very good arrangement for the education of his son who acquired high proficiency in English, Sanskrit and Punjabi. As a Karwar, Ripudaman Singh had imbibed the spirit of nationalism. From 1906 to 1908 he was an additional member of the viceroy's law-making council where he delivered many speeches in favour of the national rights of the Indians. Ripudaman Singh was never prepared to give up his patriotic views.

A conflict between Ripudaman Singh and Bhupinder Singh of Patiala was made a plea for the abdication of *gaddi* by the ruler of Nabha on July 9, 1923. The British were intent upon dethroning Ripudaman Singh. Even after abdication Ripudaman Singh continued having contacts with the top Indian nationalist leaders like Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai. The Sikhs started a *marcha* at Jaito for the restoration of Ripudaman Singh to his *gaddi*. The Sikhs suffered immense sacrifices during the *marcha*. Many leaders of the Indian National Congress including Jawahar Lal Nehru visited Jaito and were detained in jail by the British. Ripudaman Singh was transferred to a jail at Kodai Koral in Madras where he died on December 14, 1942.

168. *Ibid.*, pp. 660-61.

MAHARAJA PARTAP SINGH (1923-48)

After his father Ripudaman Singh's abdication Partap Singh, who was born on September 21, 1919, was acknowledged by the Government of India as the ruler of Nabha on February 23, 1928. At the time of his father's abdication in 1923 he was a young boy of four years. During Partap Singh's minority, first an English administrator was appointed to look after the affairs of the state and then a Council of Regency was set up. Partap Singh helped the British in the Second World War (1939-45). Partap Singh's state of Nabha became a part of Patiala and East Punjab States Union with effect from July 15, 1948.

JIND STATE

As referred to earlier Tiloka the eldest son of Phul, had two sons Gurditta and Sukhchain.

SARDAR SUKHCHAIN SINGH

Sukhchain Singh the founder of Jind house had three sons : Alam Singh, Gajpat Singh and Bulaki Singh. Alam Singh, the eldest, was a brave soldier and fought with distinction against imperial troops many a time and he carved out for himself a sizeable tract of territory.¹⁶⁹

Before his death Sukhchain Singh divided his lands among his sons. Balanwali fell to the share of Alam Singh, Badrukhan was given to Gajpat Singh and Dialpura to Bulaki Singh.¹⁷⁰

Sukhchain Singh continued putting up at Phul till his death in 1758. Sukhchain Singh's brother Gurdit Singh, the founder of the Nabha house, had always hostile intentions against him. Gurdit Singh's only son Surtia Singh had succumbed to the injuries received from Sukhchain Singh's men. At the connivance of Gurdit Singh imperial troops were sent to seize Sukhchain Singh who had fallen into arrears as to the payment of the revenues. Sukhchain Singh managed to escape but his five year son Gajpat Singh along with his mother again fell into the hands of the imperialists and taken to Delhi and imprisoned there. But they managed to escape from the prison in disguise.¹⁷¹ Sukhchain Singh died in 1758 at the age of seventy five.

169. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 283; Gian Singh, p. 662-63

170. Lepel Griffin, pp. 283-84. Bute Shah wrongly writes that Sukhchain Singh had only two sons, Alam Singh and Gajpat Singh. Bulaki Singh, the third son of Sukhchain Singh was the founder of the Dialpura Branch of the Jind family (Lepel Griffin, p. 279).

171. Lepel Griffin, p. 284; Gian Singh, pp. 662-63.

RAJA GAJPAT SINGH (1738-1789)

Gajpat Singh, the second son of Sukhchain Singh was born on April 15, 1738.¹⁷² He was the most adventurous of his brothers. He lived with his father at Phul till the latter's death, assisting him against his rival and brother Gurdit Singh.¹⁷³

In his youth Gajpat Singh was a fine, handsome and intelligent person. He was well skilled in all military crafts and exercises.¹⁷⁴ He possessed a winsome personality and had a quick grasp of things. In 1767, for being remiss in paying his arrears which amounted to one and a half lakhs, he was imprisoned by Najib Khan Rohilla and taken to Delhi. He remained at Delhi for three years and impressed Muhammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor, as a person of address and good demeanour.¹⁷⁵ The Emperor wanted of Gajpat Singh to learn Persian language and wear the dress of a Mughal courtier which led some orthodox Sikhs attribute to his conversion to Islam.¹⁷⁶

He had married the daughter of Kishan Singh Mansahia who bore him four children, Mehar Singh, Bhag Singh, Bhup Singh and a daughter Raj Kaur who was married to Mahan Singh Sukharchakia in 1774 and became the mother of Ranjit Singh.¹⁷⁷ Gajpat Singh also married one of the widows of his elder brother Alam Singh and succeeded to his estate of Balawali. This wife gave birth to a daughter named Begama. Gajpat Singh's eldest son Mehar Singh died in his life time in 1780, leaving one son Hari Singh, who was put in possession of Safidon. But Hari Singh, who lived a dissipated life, died in 1791 at the age of 18, by falling from the roof of his house.¹⁷⁸

In 1774 Gajpat Singh took Sangrur from the possession of Nabha, in 1775 he not only overran Hansi, Hissar, Rohtak and Gohana but also laid contribution on Panipat and Karnal. His most important

172. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

173. *Ibid.*

174. *Ibid.*

175. Giani Gian Singh, p. 664.

176. Khushwaqat Rai wrongly believes that Gajpat Singh was turned a Muhammadan by the Emperor of Delhi and was later brought into the fold of Sikhism by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (*Tawarikh-i-Sikhan*, p. 121).

177. Lepel Griffin, p. 285; Gian Singh, p. 666; Kanaihya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 113.

178. Lepel Griffin, p. 291; Gian Singh, p. 666.

possessions included Jind, Sangrur, Safidon and Kharkhoda.¹⁷⁹

From 1772 onwards many attempts were made by the Mughal officers, the hostile Sikh Sardars and the Maratha generals upon Jind and other possessions of the state. Samru attacked Jind in July 1774. All the Sikhs in the neighbourhood of Jind united to give battle to the invader. In the battle the European trained battalions of Samru were routed with three hundred of them slain. Thus Gajpat Singh proved equal to them and saved his territories.

Gajpat Singh extended his capital Jind to a large extent and constructed a fort in the north of the town. Safidon had also many buildings of bricks and a strong fort was built there by Gajpat Singh. It was built of bricks with walls of uncommon height.¹⁸⁰

Gajpat Singh was a brave and an intrepid ruler. "He was a remarkable man and a prominent figure in those troublous times."¹⁸¹ He was given the title of Raja by Emperor Shah Alam in 1772 under a royal *farman* and was confirmed in his territories.¹⁸²

He coined his own money on the model of the coins of Patiala with the only difference of Jind inscribed on them. He had deep affection for Raja Amar Singh of Patiala with whom he joined in almost all his campaigns.¹⁸⁰ There existed great amity and regard for each other and fellow-feeling between the two. Gajpat Singh helped Amar Singh in the revolt of prince Himmat Singh in 1765 and again in 1772. He helped the Patiala chief when the latter attacked Bhatinda fort in 1771. Amar Singh helped Gajpat Singh when the latter had feud with the Nabha chief in 1774 and again when he (Gajpat Singh) was attacked by Rahim Dad Khan in 1775. Gajpat Singh joined Amar Singh in his attack on Hari Singh of Sialba in 1778. Gajpat Singh played an important role of a mediator in Abdul Ahad's campaign against Patiala in 1779. Even after the death of Amar Singh in 1781 Gajpat Singh continued to help the Patiala minister Nanu Mal in restoring order when the new ruler Sahib Singh was just an adolescent, Gajpat Singh went to Patiala with his contingent to give help to Sahib Singh. Gajpat Singh exercised formidable influence with the Mughal officers who recommended the cancellation of the amount of his

179. Khushwaqat Rai, p. 121.

180. Francklin, *Military Memoirs of George Thomas*, pp. 288-90.

181. R.C. Temple, *The Indian Antiquary*, p. 10.

182. Lepel Griffin, p. 285; Gian Singh, p. 665; *Delhi Chronicle*, p. 143.

183. *Ibid.*, p. 290; *Ibid.*, p. 665.

arrears. He died on November 11, 1789, aged about fifty one years and a half.¹⁸⁴

Gajpat Singh, who was brought up as a soldier and experienced as a general, took part in not fewer than 30 battles. He extended his territories considerably and the revenue of his state amounted to between 6 and 7 lakhs.¹⁸⁵ He is also said to have raised the revenue to rupees 16 lakhs.¹⁸⁶ His army consisted of 1500 horse and 500 foot.¹⁸⁷

RAJA BHAG SINGH (1789-1819)

The territories of Gajpat Singh were divided between his sons Bhag Singh and Bhup Singh, the former taking Jind and Safidon with the title of Raja and the latter the estate of Badrukhan.

Bhag Singh, who succeeded to the chiefship of Jind State in November 1789, was born on September 23, 1760.

In 1786 the districts of Gohana and Kharkhoda were conferred upon him in *jagir* by Emperor Shah Alam. In 1794 Bhag Singh joined the Patiala army under Rani Sahib Kaur in the attack on the Maratha generals Anta Rao and Lachman Rao, at Rajgarh near Ambala. In 1795 Bhag Singh lost Karnal which was occupied by the Marathas and made over to George Thomas.¹⁸⁸

In 1801 Bhag Singh went to Delhi in company with other chiefs to ask General Perron, commanding the Northern Division of the Maratha army, to crush George Thomas whose existence at Hansi on the southern border of the Jind State, was a perpetual menace to all the Sikh chiefs in the neighbourhood. This expedition was successful in driving Thomas from Hansi.¹⁸⁹

Raja Bhag Singh was the first of all the great Cis-Satluj chiefs to seek an alliance with the British Government. He joined the British camp towards the end of 1803. Bhag Singh joined General Lake in his pursuit of Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1805, accompanying him as an envoy to his nephew Maharaja Ranjit Singh to tell him of the approach of General Lake, and warn him against espousing the hopeless cause of

184. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

185. *Punjab State Gazetteers*, Vol. XLIII, Jind State, Statistical Tables (1933).

186. *Halat-i-Jind*, p. 7.

187. James Browne, 'History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs', published in Ganda Singh's (edited) *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, p. 43 (ed. 1962).

188. Lepel Griffin, p. 292; Gian Singh, p. 667.

189. *Ibid.*, pp. 292-93; *Ibid.*, pp. 667-68; Cf. James Skinner, *Kitab-i-Haqiq-i-Rajgan*, also called *Tazkirat-ul-Umra*, p. 165 (Ms. 1830).

Holkar.¹⁹⁰ Bhag Singh exerted considerable influence with Ranjit Singh in favour of the English. The negotiations between Holkar and Ranjit Singh broke off and the Maratha chief was compelled to leave the Punjab.¹⁹¹ Bhag Singh returned with Lord Lake to Delhi and received the grant of the *pargana* of Bawanat, immediately to the south-west of Panipat. It was a life-grant in the name of Kanwar Partap Singh.¹⁹²

During the Cis-Satluj campaign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1806 Bhag Singh received from his nephew (the Maharaja) Ludhiana consisting of 24 villages worth Rs. 15,380 a year; 24 villages of Jandiala from the same family, worth Rs. 4370; two villages of Kot and two of Jagraon, worth Rs. 2,000 a year. During the expedition of 1807 Bhag Singh received from the Maharaja three villages of Ghungrana and 27 villages of Morinda in Sirhind, and all together worth Rs. 19,255 a year.¹⁹³

A deputation which included Raja Bhag Singh met Mr Seton on March 22, 1808 in Delhi and solicited the English help urgently. He joined General Ochterlony in conducting negotiations with the Sikh chiefs. He put more confidence on the friendship of the English than on Maharaja Ranjit Singh's.

Raja Bhag Singh was willing to give up Ludhiana to the English who realised its potentialities as a strategic contonment on their border. Bhag Singh wanted Karnal in exchange for Ludhiana but the government rejected the proposal for Karnal and allowed the Raja a fair amount of compensation for the loss of Ludhiana.¹⁹⁴ Raja Bhag Singh had three sons, Fateh Singh, Partap Singh and Mehtab Singh.¹⁹⁵

From the year 1814 onwards Bhag Singh began to fall seriously out of health. He died on June 16, 1819.

RAJA FATEH SINGH (1819-1822)

After Bhag Singh's death his eldest son Fateh Singh succeeded him. He was born on May 6, 1789. The reign of Fateh Singh was very short and uneventful. He died on the 3rd of February 1822 at his residence at Sangrur at the age of thirty three, leaving one son,

190. Sohan Lal Suri, II, p. 58.

191. *Ibid.*

192. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 294; Cf. James Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

193. *Ibid.*, p. 295; Cf. James Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

194. James Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 166; Gian Singh, pp. 670-71.

195. *Ibid.*, p. 165; Gian Singh, pp. 672-73.

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Sangat Singh, eleven years of age.¹⁹⁶

RAJA SANGAT SINGH (1822-1834)

The installation of the young Raja Sangat Singh, who was born on July 16, 1810, took place on July 30, 1822 at Jind. In 1826 Sangat Singh visited Lahore. He repeated his visit to Lahore next year. He was received by Maharaja Ranjit Singh very courteously. The Maharaja made many grants of lands to Sangat Singh that involved him into disputes with the British Government.¹⁹⁷ The British Government urged upon the Raja the fundamental principle that the protected chiefs must abstain from all connections with foreign princes and governments without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government. In spite of the remonstrances to the contrary Raja Sangat Singh again opened negotiations with the court of Lahore and personally visited it in 1834.¹⁹⁸ Sangat Singh's annual revenue collection was about two and a half lakh rupees and his army both of horse and foot comprised about five or six hundred men.¹⁹⁹ Sangat Singh was a brave young man and was fond of hunting.²⁰⁰

At the time of his sudden death on November 4-5, 1834, Sangat Singh was merely twenty three years old. He had married three wives but he left no son to succeed him.²⁰¹ The nearest relations who could advance valid claims to the *gaddi* were three second cousins, Sarup Singh, Sukha Singh and Bhagwan Singh. But these candidates had for long been cut off from the straight line of succession to the Jind branch of the family. Many people advanced their claims to the *gaddi* including the widows of Sangat Singh and of his father, and the Raja of Nabha.

RAJA SARUP SINGH (1834-1864)

Sarup Singh of Bazidpur, who was born on May 30, 1812, succeeded Raja Sangat Singh. He was formally installed, in the presence of all the Phulkian Chiefs and the British Agent, in April 1837.²⁰² In the Anglo-Sikh War of 1845-46 Raja Sarup Singh was called upon by

196. Lepel Griffin, p. 322; Gian Singh, p. 678.

197. *Ibid.*, p. 324; Gian Singh, p. 679.

198. *Ibid.*, pp. 327-28; *Ibid.*, 679-80.

199. James Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

200. *Ibid.*

201. Lepel Griffin, p. 329; Gian Singh, p. 682; Kanaiya Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

202. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

the British to supply 150 camels for the use of Sirhind Division. The Raja neglected to comply with the demand inspite of repeated promises and assurances. But later he served the British Government and was again received into favour. He rendered significant service to the British during the Mutiny of 1857.²⁰³ He was present at the siege of Delhi. He suppressed slavery, Infanticide and *sati* in his state. He also abolished transit duties. Sarup Singh died of acute dysentery on January 26, 1864.²⁰⁴

RAJA RAGHBIR SINGH (1864-1887)

Sarup Singh was succeeded by his son Raghbir Singh who was born in 1832. The installation of the new chief took place on March 31, 1864.²⁰⁵ He was in every way worthy of his father. The new Raja had scarcely taken his seat on the *gaddi* when a rebellion broke out in the newly acquired territory of Dadri to test his energy and determination. The Dadri people had made a great mistake when they fancied that the new Raja was less energetic than his father. He did not ask Patiala or Nabha for the assistance which they were quite willing to give, and he also declined the presence of a British officer in his camp. He crushed the rebellion and destroyed the villages which were the strongholds of the rebels. But he was merciful after his success. He only punished the ring leaders of the revolt, permitting the *zamindars* to return to Dadri territory and rebuild their ruined villages.²⁰⁶

The principal residence of Raja Raghbir Singh was at Sangrur, but he did not neglect the administration of even the distant parts of his state. He was a man of excellent judgement and great honesty. He died on March 7, 1887.²⁰⁷

RAJA RANBIR SINGH (1887-1948)

Ranbir Singh succeeded his grandfather Raghbir Singh (his father Balbir Singh having died on November 26, 1883 in his youth). Ranbir Singh who was born on October 11, 1879 was very young at the time of his predecessor's death in 1887. So a Council of Regency was

203. Lepel Griffin, pp. 355-57; Gian Singh, p. 687; Kanaihya Lal, p. 114.

204. Muhammad Latif, p. 332; Gian Singh, p. 693.

205. Lepel Griffin, p. 375; Gian Singh, p. 694.

206. Lepel Griffin, p. 378; Gian Singh, p. 695.

207. Gian Singh, p. 698.

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appointed to look after the affairs of the state. The installation ceremony of Ranbir Singh took place on February 27, 1888, when he was nine years of age.²⁰⁸

In 1911 he was present at Delhi at the Coronation Ceremony of George V. In 1926 he was given by the British the honorary title of Colonel in the army. He visited Europe many times. He died on April 1, 1948. He was succeeded by his son Rajbir Singh. In July 1948 Jind state lapsed into the Patiala and East Punjab State Union.

208. *Ibid.*

Punjab Under The Afghan Ruler—Timur Shah Durrani (May 1757—April 1758)

HARPREET KAUR*

On his return from Delhi after his fourth invasion of India Ahmad Shah Durrani reached Lahore in April 1757. Before his departure for his country the Durrani ruler installed his son Timur Shah as the Viceroy of the Punjab. Sardar Jahan Khan was appointed as Timur Shah's *naib*, his minister as well as commander-in-chief. An army comprising fifteen thousand horse and foot was left behind at Lahore, at the disposal of the Afghan prince. Restoration of peace in the Punjab received the immediate attention of Timur Shah. The prince was able to normalise the situation in the province to a considerable extent due to his military strength and the awe of the Afghans. In the words of Jadu Nath Sarkar, "Justice was done in the capital and the districts and the roads became safe for traffic once more."¹

But the Punjab was so circumstanced in those days that there could be no guarantee of permanent peace in the province. There was a triangular contest for the possession of the Punjab. The Mughals wanted to perpetuate their rule over the Punjab and the Afghans wanted to make it a province of Afghanistan. The Marathas were making an all-out bid to occupy the Punjab and the Sikhs were waging a life and death struggle for their political emancipation from the Mughal rule and establish their sovereignty in the state.

Kawaja Ubed Ullah Khan and his deputy, Mirza Jan Khan, who had been reinstated in the government of Lahore in the last days of November 1756, were provided with military posts. Timur Shah retained them on his personal staff as advisers relating to administrative matters.²

Timur Shah Befriended Adina Beg

Ahmad Shah had made the appointment of Sarfraz Khan to the

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1. J.N. Sarkar, *Decline and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, p. 67.
2. *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, pp. 366-67, cited by Ganda Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, p. 190.

PUNJAB UNDER THE AFGHAN RULER—TIMUR SHAH

government of Jullundur Doab but Adina Beg Khan who had taken asylum in the Shivalik hills could come out at an opportune time and in collaboration with the Sikhs could give a strong blow to the Lahore government. He had earlier been confirmed in the government of Jullundur Doab by Muin-ul-Mulk's (Mir Mannu's) widow Mughlani Begum on whom the territory had originally been conferred by Ahmad Shah, in appreciation of services during his campaign. Timur found it in the fitness of things not to shift him from there provided he toed the line of the new government. Timur addressed a communication to Adina Beg saying, "Ahmad Shah Durrani had at first decided to march upon the Deccan and had, therefore, granted this country to the Begum. Now that the intention of going to the south has been abandoned, the government of this kingdom up to the (southern) boundary of Sirhind, had been assigned to us. You should, therefore, present yourself at our court. In case of disobedience to this order, the entire Doaba shall be overrun and the war shall be carried on to the hills also."³

For some time Adina Beg remained indecisive in the hope that Mughlani Begum, who had accompanied the Shah upto Jhelum, might regain the territories of Jullundur Doab, Jammu and Kashmir, from the Afghan control. Tahmas Khan, the Begum's confidant, who was at that time with Adina Beg, suggested to him to send petition along with a copy of Timur's *farman* to the Begum and keep the messengers from Lahore loitering till the receipt of her reply. Tahmas Khan offered to see the Begum himself. But when he arrived at Ravi, about eight *kos* from Adina Nagar, where, in the meantime, Adina Beg was staying, Tahmas Khan learnt that the Begum had returned disappointed from Ahmad Shah's camp to Sialkot and from there to Lahore.⁴ Adina Beg Khan's agent Dila Ram succeeded in obtaining for his master the *faujdari* of Jullundur Doab. He was also exempted from personal attendance at Lahore on an undertaking to remit thirty six lakhs of rupees annually to the Durrani governor's treasury. Dila Ram stayed at Lahore as a surety for regular payment of Adina Beg's tribute which was paid by regular monthly instalments.⁵

Timur's Jihad Against the Sikhs

Shortly afterwards Jahan Khan received an intelligence that the

3. Tahmas Khan, *Tahmas Nama*, English translation by P. Setu Madhava Rao, Bombay (1967), p. 51.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
5. Tahmas Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibratnama*, Vol. I, pp. 218-19; Jadu Nath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 67.

four sides."⁹

Change In Timur Shah's Attitude Towards Adina Beg

With Jahan Khan's unstatesmanlike attitude towards Adina Beg the situation in the Punjab took a turn for the worse. Adina Beg, who was then the *faujdar* of Jullundur Doab, had agreed to pay thirty six lakhs of rupees annually to the Lahore Government on the definite understanding that he would be exempted from personal attendance at the court of Timur Shah and his *vakil* Dila Ram would stay permanently at Lahore to transact the political business of the Jullundur Doab and to look to the payment of money to the Lahore Government.¹⁰ But some people instigated Timur Shah that Adina Beg had property worth lakhs and intentionally avoided attendance at his *darbar*. He should be called to Lahore and in the case of his failure to come he should be arrested and disgorged of all his wealth which might be used in giving good administration to the province under them. The suggestion appealed to the inexperienced and needy prince and orders were issued accordingly to Jahan Khan.¹¹

Jahan Khan sent messengers to Adina Beg demanding his presence at Lahore. Adina Beg sensed a foul play behind the invitation. He detained the messengers under the pretext of making preparations for the journey to Lahore. In the meantime he made arrangements for his flight to the Shivalik hills.¹² Finding Adina Beg unwilling to go to Lahore, Jahan Khan put his agent Dila Ram into the jail who was later released on the surety of Mughlani Begum that he would pay six lakh rupees to the Lahore treasury.¹³ When Jahan Khan came to know of Dila Ram's release he got very angry with the Begum. Under his orders Begum's residence was ransacked and all her property confiscated.¹⁴

Jahan Khan planned to play a trick with Adina Beg. He sent Pirzada Ghulam Hussain, who was treated with great reverence by Adina Beg, to persuade the latter to visit Lahore. But Adina Beg who could not be duped so easily pleaded his inability to leave at that time the territories under his charge on the plea that the Sikhs were very

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3 ; J. N. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 68.

10. Tahmas Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

11. Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 219.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

13. Tahmas Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

14. *Ibid.*

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With Jahan Khan's unstatesmanlike attitude towards Adina Beg the situation in the Punjab took a turn for the worse. Adina Beg, who was then the *faujdar* of Jullundur Doab, had agreed to pay thirty six lakhs of rupees annually to the Lahore Government on the definite understanding that he would be exempted from personal attendance at the court of Timur Shah and his *vakil* Dila Ram would stay permanently at Lahore to transact the political business of the Jullundur Doab and to look to the payment of money to the Lahore Government.¹⁰ But some people instigated Timur Shah that Adina Beg had property worth lakhs and intentionally avoided attendance at his *darbar*. He should be called to Lahore and in the case of his failure to come he should be arrested and disgorged of all his wealth which might be used in giving good administration to the province under them. The suggestion appealed to the inexperienced and needy prince and orders were issued accordingly to Jahan Khan.¹¹

Jahan Khan sent messengers to Adina Beg demanding his presence at Lahore. Adina Beg sensed a foul play behind the invitation. He detained the messengers under the pretext of making preparations for the journey to Lahore. In the meantime he made arrangements for his flight to the Shivalik hills.¹² Finding Adina Beg unwilling to go to Lahore, Jahan Khan put his agent Dila Ram into the jail who was later released on the surety of Mughlani Begum that he would pay six lakh rupees to the Lahore treasury.¹³ When Jahan Khan came to know of Dila Ram's release he got very angry with the Begum. Under his orders Begum's residence was ransacked and all her property confiscated.¹⁴

Jahan Khan planned to play a trick with Adina Beg. He sent Pirzada Ghulam Hussain, who was treated with great reverence by Adina Beg, to persuade the latter to visit Lahore. But Adina Beg who could not be duped so easily pleaded his inability to leave at that time the territories under his charge on the plea that the Sikhs were very

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-3 ; J. N. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 68.

10. Tahmas Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

11. Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 219.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

13. Tahmas Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

14. *Ibid.*

active there and they would attack the Doaba as soon as he left his headquarters. Then it would become impossible to suppress them. Timur insisted on his presence at Lahore. The *harkaras* of Adina Beg warned him of the impending attack and he slipped into the hills of Nalagarh.¹⁵

Jahan Khan accused Mirza Jan Khan, an important courtier of Timur Shah, of intriguing with the Sikhs. As Jahan Khan harboured grudge against Mirza Jan Khan on some personal grounds, he resorted to inflicting disgrace on the latter publically. Mirza Jan Khan told the Afghan minister that he could easily forego his property and status rather than submitting to insult and disgrace. Jahan Khan ordered bailiffs to produce Jan Khan willing or otherwise in the Diwan's court. Jan Khan fled for his life and joined Adina Beg Khan in the Shivaliks. The defection of Mirza Jan Khan from the Afghans was most welcome to Adina Beg.¹⁶

An Expedition Led Against Adina Beg

Mirza Jan's escape to Adina Beg's camp and the shelter provided to him gave another offence to Jahan Khan against Adina Beg. Learning about the disturbances in the Punjab Ahmad Shah ordered Murad Khan, the governor of Multan, to proceed to Lahore with an army of ten thousand horse to reinforce Jahan Khan in his military operations against the Sikhs, who were out to fight a relentless struggle for the liberation of the Punjab. Jahan Khan deputed Murad Khan to administer Jullundur Doab and to command the expeditionary force against Adina Beg with Sarfraz Khan, the *faujdar* designate of the Jullundur Doab and Buland Khan as his *naib* (deputy). Adina Beg was, then, hiding about the river Satluj near Jaijon in the district of Hoshiarpur.¹⁷

Adina Beg considered it an opportune time to open negotiations with Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Sodhi Wadbhag Singh. The Sikhs were sore against Jahan Khan who had persecuted them to the utmost. He had beaten their revered saint Wadbhag Singh of Kartarpur, about 15 kms west of Jullundur, almost to death. His disciples removed the Sodhi into the hills, north of Hoshiarpur. The Sikhs who were already

15. Ali-ud-Din *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 219; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, pp. 78-9 (1877); Ghulam Ali Azad Mir, *Khazana-i-Amira*, p. 10 (Nawal Kishore Press, Kanpur).

16. *Tazkirah-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, p. 372.

17. *Khazana-i-Amira*, p. 100; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, p. 365; Ghulam Ali, *Shah Alam Namah*, pp. 55-6 (Calcutta, 1914).

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burning with rage against the Afghans jumped over this invitation. Adina Beg also won over to his side Sidiq Beg, the deputy governor of Sirhind, and Raja Bhup Singh.¹⁸

At the head of an army, comprising twenty five thousand horsemen, Adina Beg issued forth from the Shivalik hills to meet the Afghans marching towards him. The bloody fighting between the rival forces took place in the vicinity of Mahilpur in the Hoshiarpur district. In order to distinguish between the Muslim soldiers of Adina Beg and those of the Afghans Adina Beg's men wore tufts of grass on their heads. Under the combined force of Adina Beg's men and the Sikhs the Afghans were put to flight. Buland Khan died in the battle-field and Murad Khan fled to Lahore leaving all his equipage in the hands of the Sikhs. The victorious Sikhs attacked Jullundur and defeated Sa'adat Khan Afridi. On the suggestion of Sodhi Wadbhag Singh there was a general plunder of the town of Jullundur. The Sikhs exhumed the dead body of Nasir Ali who had been responsible for the whole-sale massacre at Kartarpur and for burning the Thamm Sahib Gurdwara and subjecting it to indignities. At last Adina Beg came to the rescue of Jullundur and paid to the Sikhs a tribute of a lakh and a quarter of rupees to purchase their goodwill.¹⁹

The Sikhs grew bolder still with their recent victory and ransacked the whole of the Jullundur Doab and went to the neighbourhood of Lahore. But Adina Beg returned to his headquarters. In the words of Tahmas Khan "Thousands of Sikhs raided the city (of Lahore) every night and plundered the outlying suburbs, but no one dared stir out of the city to repel them. Rather the gates were ordered to be closed at nightfall. The situation became worse day by day, and the administration of the state was totally broken down."²⁰

According to a Marathi despatch of January 6, 1758 based on the communications of Adina Beg and Dila Ram, Sa'adat Khan Afridi, after suffering a defeat at Jullundur, ran away to the hills and the Sikhs began to collect tribute from the people of the Jullundur Doab in the name of *karah parasad* (sweet-pudding). The governor of Lahore

18. *Shah Alam Namah*, pp. 55-6; *Shah Namah-i-Ahmadia*, p. 237.

19. *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg*, p. 19; *Khazana-i-Amira*, p. 100; *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkherin*, pp. 908-09; Rattan Singh, *Prachin Panth Prakash*, pp. 413-22; Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash*, pp. 721-30; Purser, *Jullundur Settlement Report*, p. 29.

20. Tahmas Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Ahmad Shah Batalia, *Tarikh-i-Hind*, p. 872,

despatched an army of twenty five thousand horse and foot under Khawaja Ubaid Ullah Khan to fight the Sikhs. "But the said Khan was defeated in battle. Many of his captains were killed and his camp and baggage were plundered. All the artillery, that the Shah had left behind, was taken away." The Sikhs then extended their raids to the vicinity of Batala and Kalanaur and also to the suburbs of Lahore.²¹

According to Ahmad Shah Batalia Murad Khan's defeat at the hands of the Sikhs infuriated Jahan Khan who met the Afghan retreating force at Batala but it was too late to regain the lost ground in the Jullundur Doab. In fact, Murad Khan fought only half-heartedly as he had been won over by Shah Wali Khan, who was an enemy of Jahan Khan. Ahmad Shah Batalia further states that even the disturbances in the Jullundur Doab created by Adina Beg had been at the instigation of Shah Wali Khan.²²

Adina Beg Invited the Marathas

No doubt Sarfraz Khan and Murad Khan had been defeated in Jullundur Doab but Adina Beg knew it fully well that he would be no match for the stronger forces of Jahan Khan. Ahmad Shah Abdali could come at the head of a large army any time to retaliate the affront offered by Adina Beg to the Afghan government of Lahore. The Sikhs had their own aspirations of liberating their mother-land from the foreign invaders. They could not be permanently depended upon as their independent rule under Banda Singh was still fresh in their memories. So Adina Beg thought it most advisable to call the Marathas to fight on his side.

Raghunath Rao, brother of Balaji Rao Peshwa, was then stationed near Delhi with a large army comprising 50,000 men. He had come there in August 1757 and had since driven out Najib-ud-Daulah from Delhi and Saharanpur. It struck Abdus Samad Khan Muhammadzei, the Afghan governor of Sirhind, with fear. The Sirhind governor collected a large army to meet the Marathas who did not move toward Sirhind.²³ It was during this time that Har Lal and Sidiq Beg, the envoys of Adina Beg, approached Raghunath Rao, inviting the Marathas to the Punjab, stipulating to pay one lakh rupees per day when they were marching and fifty thousand rupees when halting.²³

21. *Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. II, p. 83; Ahmad Shah Batalia, *op. cit.*, p. 872.

22. Ahmad Shah Batalia, *op. cit.*, p. 872.

23. *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg*, pp. 11-2 (Persian Manuscript) and p. 12 (English translation)
[Continued on page 63]

Accepting the offer Raghunath Rao, at the head of the Maratha army, proceeded towards Sirhind, towards the end of February 1758. Passing through Ambala, Mughal-di-Sarai, Rajpura and Sarai Banjara the Marathas arrived in the vicinity of Sirhind on March 9, 1758. As arranged earlier the Sikhs and Adina Beg joined the Marathas there.

On his return from Delhi in the beginning of 1757, Timur Shah was relieved of nearly half of his precious burden by Ala Singh in concert with some other Sardars at Sanaur.²⁴ Most of Ala Singh's possessions lay within the jurisdiction of Sirhind. Samad Khan, the governor of Sirhind, wanted to punish Ala Singh for his having dispossessed Timur Shah of the treasures he had brought from Delhi. Knowing the intentions of Abdus Samad Khan, Ala Singh retired to his strong fort at Dhodian. Abdus Samad besieged Dhodian from where he was repulsed by the forces of the Phulkian Chief. In his attack on Sirhind Adina Beg, besides others, was accompanied by Ala Singh as well.

A little before the occupation of Sirhind Ala Singh was requested to send help against the Afghans. Ala Singh, who was pro-Marathas and anti-Abdali, was asked by the Marathas to meet Sadiq Beg Khan at Sanaur and Malhar Rao on his way to Sirhind. The Phulkian Chief sent two thousand soldiers to reinforce the allies in their attack on Sirhind. But there could be no meeting between Ala Singh and Malhar Rao as the former was not willing to go to the Maratha camp.

The Sikhs had a serious grouse against the town of Sirhind where the two younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh had been done to death. Adina Beg had agreed to allow the Sikhs to enter the town first and sack it.²⁵ Sirhind surrendered to the forces of the allies without much resistance on March 21, 1758. The Sikhs were the first to enter Sirhind and plunder it. The Afghan governor, Abdus Samad Khan, and Jangbaz Khan, who were defending the town, were captured. The

Continued from page 62]

MS.) in the personal collection of Dr Ganda Singh, Patiala; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, pp. 373-74; *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkherin*, p. 909; Tahmas Knan, *op. cit.*, p. 64; *Khazana-i-Amirah*, p. 100.

24. S.N. Banerjee, *A History of Patiala*, Vol. I, part II, p. 63 (typed Ms. Dr Ganda Singh's personal collection, Patiala).

25. Rattan Singh Bhangu, *Prachin Panth Parkash*, pp. 422-23 (ed. 1918); Karam Singh, *Maharaja Ala Singh*, pp. 176-77 (ed. 1951).

town was plundered by the Marathas also and then by the people of the neighbouring villages. "Even the mansions of rich people were razed to the ground and their timber taken away ; their floors were dug up and all that was recovered was removed."²⁶

Marathas got jealous of the Sikhs obtaining lions share in the plunder of Sirhind. It resulted in a skirmish between them but peace was readily brought about by Adina Beg. In order to avoid any possibility of a clash between them it was decided that the Sikhs who numbered about fifteen thousand should go two stages ahead of the Marathas during their march towards Lahore.²⁷

Adina Beg had been, for a long time, playing a double game. In the present situation also, where everybody knew that he had invited the Sikhs and the Marathas to assist him in capturing Lahore from the Afghans, he wrote to Jahan Khan that the Marathas had come from the Deccan to place Punjab under their control and he had joined them as a matter of time-serving policy. Since the Marathas were marching towards Lahore at a rapid speed they ought to be immediately opposed. Adina Beg, in fact, wanted Jahan Khan to believe that he was loyal to the Afghan government and to keep circumstances favourable for negotiations.²⁸ According to Ali-ud-Din Mufti, Adina Beg sent the following communication to Jahan Khan, "Having conquered the whole of India, the Marathas have invaded the Punjab. If you are strong enough to confront them, mobilize your army and come out to fight. If not, I can be of service to you in keeping them engaged in the management of the hill territories and you may (in the meantime) conveniently remove the prince (Timur) and the ladies to Afghanistan. Do not blame me later on that I did not inform you of this sudden calamity."²⁹

Jahan Khan Leads Army Against The Sikhs And The Marathas

Learning about the siege of Sirhind Jahan Khan mobilized all the forces at his command to relieve Sirhind. Mughlani Begum was imprisoned in the palace of Timur Shah and her confidant Tahmas

26. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, p. 311 ; *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, pp. 376-79 ; Tahmas Khan, p. 67 ; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 547 (MS. Khalsa College, Amritsar) ; Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 106 ; Abdul Karim, *Waqiat-i-Durrani* (Urdu tr. by Mir Waris Ali Saif, p. 30 (The Panjabi Adab Academy, Lahore, 1963).

27. *Tazkirah-i-Imad*, pp. 379-80; Rattan Singh Bhangu, *op. cit.*, pp. 423-24.

28. Tahmas Khan, p. 70.

29. Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibratnama*, Vol. I, p. 220.

Khan was ordered to join his camp. Reaching Batala Jahan Khan sent an advance guard under Yusuf Khan to watch the fords of the Satluj. But Jahan Khan was told that the advance guard was not sufficient against the seasoned Maratha and Sikh soldiers. Jahan Khan did not listen to the advice and the advance guard moved into the Hoshiarpur district where they roamed about for a few days. In the meantime Sirhind was captured by the allies. Jahan Khan moved to the town of Jalalabad to obstruct the passage of the forces of the allies. The Marathas and the Sikhs, accompanied by Adina Beg, continued pushing forward. Jahan Khan, finding his position in Jalalabad hazardous, hurried back to Lahore.³⁰

Prince Timur and Jahan Khan Retreated to Afghanistan

Finding the forces of the allies nearing Lahore Jahan Khan found it impossible to stay on in Lahore any more. The fort of Lahore was not sufficiently provided for any long drawn siege. Jahan Khan had violently alienated the sympathies of the Sikhs who were keen to driving them out of their country at the earliest opportunity. The Afghans had only a few thousand troops with them at Lahore and there was not an immediate likelihood of any reinforcement from Ahmad Shah who was engrossed in the affairs of state in Kabul. Under the circumstances prince Timur and Jahan Khan were left with no option other than their flight from Lahore, before the arrival of the allies.³¹

It is believed that on or about the 17th of April 1758 Jahan Khan set up a camp on the other side of river Ravi and first sent out prince Timur's mother and his own relations. The other officers of the army also carried their belongings to the camp. Some of the soldiers were reported to be hiding in the city. They were dragged out and executed in the *chauk*.³² Mughlani Begum was released from the fort. On April 18, news arrived that the forces of the allies had crossed river Beas and were at a distance of twelve miles from Lahore. The same day prince Timur and Jahan Khan crossed over to the other side of river Ravi. Leaving a small force under Mir Hazar Khan to cover up their rear, Timur and Jahan Khan left for Kabul.

30. Tahmas Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

31. Ghulam Husain, *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkherin*, p. 909; *Khazana-i-Amira*, p. 101; Jadu Nath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, pp. 73-4.

32. Tahmas Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 68; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, p. 547.

Jahan Khan was overtaken by the Marathas and the Sikhs at Eminabad but he managed to slip out of their hands. He crossed river Chenab which was in spate but his pursuers could not capture him. Most of his Uzbek, Qizilbash and Afghan troops, along with their baggage, could not cross the river for want of boats. They fell into the hands of the Marathas and the Sikhs. The leading Sikh Sardars who took part in the campaign with ten to fifteen thousand *sawars* were Charhat Singh Sukarchakia, Tara Singh Gaiba, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and Hari Singh, Lehna Singh, Gujar Singh and Jhanda Singh Bhangis.³³ The Afghan captives were taken to Amritsar where they were made to clean the sacred Sikh tank which Ahmad Shah Durrani and Jahan Khan had defiled and filled with rubbish.³⁴ The Sikhs also employed them in rebuilding the edifices demolished by them.³⁵ Ali-ud-Din Mufti writes that among the visitors to Amritsar were the Maratha chiefs who paid their respects to the Sikh Temple along with the Sikh Sardars and were much honoured.³⁶

After the expulsion of the Afghan ruler from the Punjab the Marathas made Adina Beg Khan its governor. The Maratha leader Raghunath Rao, after a stay at Lahore for less than a month, realized that it would not be possible for the Marathas to keep Punjab under them in the face of the rising power of the Sikhs. They decided to leave the government of the Punjab in the hands of Adina Beg in return for an annual tribute of seventy five lakh rupees.³⁷ On May 10, 1758 the main army, under Raghunath Rao, moved out of Lahore. Adina Beg lived to enjoy the governorship of Lahore only for four months and he died on September 15, 1758.

33. Ganda Singh, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, p. 206.

34. Ahmad Shah Batalia, *Zikr-i-Gurran va-Ibtida-i-Singha, va Mazhab-i-Eshatt*, appendix to Sohan Lal Suri's *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 37; Munshi Abdul Karim, *Waqiat-i-Durrani*, p. 30.

35. S. P. D., XXVII, p. 218; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, p. 312.

36. Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

37. *Khazana-i-Amira*, p. 101; Mir Muhammad Ghubar, *Ahmad Shah Baba-i-Afghan*, p. 244 (Kabul, 1944).

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Conquest of Multan

LT. COL. (RTD.) GULCHARAN SINCH*

Multan,¹ the oldest city of the Punjab, is located at the confluence of the rivers Satluj and Ravi. It was then a famous trade centre as it lay on the trade route which came from Kandhar, Bolan Pass, and passing through Multan went to Delhi.² Even the troops required for the defence Bolan Pass used to be stationed at Multan. The city was famous for its silk goods, which after the city's capture by Ranjit Singh, were used by him for giving as presents to his courtiers as well as to the foreign visitors to his court.

Multan is also famous for a number of other things. For example, according to a Persian saying : "With four things rare Multan abounds, heat,³ beggars, dust and burrial grounds."⁴

Multan has been the capital of the province known after its name and covered the south west area of the geographical Punjab. On the annexation of the Punjab by the British, Multan's position was downgraded to that of a headquarters of a district.

Under the Mughals, Multan was known as *dar-ul-aman* (the seat of safety) and it enjoyed a long period of peace (1545-1748).

When Kandhar was in the possession of Shahjahan for the short period from 1638 to 1649, he had created a party of Afghans, mainly

*196, Model Town, Jalandhar.

1. Mallithan or Malitharun, meaning the place (or capital) of Mallis; it was captured by Alexander the Great, during his return journey.
2. The route was later changed to Dehli via Lahore.
3. A legend goes that Shamsi Tabriz, a holy man, once performed a miracle. When he was hungry he caught a fish and held up to the sun and brought the latter near enough to roast the fish. The Multan is attribute the heat of Multan to this episode. (*Burnes, Travels into Bokhara*, 2nd Edition, Vol. I, p. 100.
4. "As far as I could judge, the satire is just, the dust darkened the sun; the thermometer rose in June to 100 degrees of Fahrenheit, in a bungalow, artificially cooled the beggars hunted us everywhere; and we trod on the cemeteries of the dead, in whatever direction we rode." (*Ibid.*, p. 103.)

Abdalis, as his supporters. In 1649, Kandhar was recaptured by Shah Abbas II, the Safawi, and these supporters of Shahjahan fled and joined the army of Prince Aurangzeb, who had been duped by his father to recover Kandhar. Many attempts were made by Aurangzeb and, later, by Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shahjahan, but the city of Kandhar defied the Mughal forces which had to withdraw to India. These (Abdali) supporters also left their country and accompanied the Mughal force. Aurangzeb, when he ascended the throne at Dehli, settled these Abdalis at Multan. Later, many more of their tribe also joined them. They became known as Multani Afghans. The governorship of Multan and the Derajats had always been with these colonists until these places were captured by Ranjit Singh. During the process of disintegration of the Mughal Empire, the Province of Multan fell into the hands of Pathans, "but, as a matter of fact, the Pathan administration of the country seems to have been exceedingly lax, and the rulers, who were brave men in the day of battle, were slothful, luxurious, and utterly unbusiness-like in the management of their territories in days of peace."⁵ In 1739, the portion of this province laying south of the Satluj declared its independence, and, subsequently, became known as the state of Bahawalpur. The remainder of the area of this province, between the Indus and Bahawalpur State, was captured by Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1752, when it became a part of the Durrani Empire, but in fact was governed by the Saddozai Pathans.

Multan was occupied by the Sikhs for the first time in 1772 by Jhanda Singh Bhangi, who had also captured the fort of Mankera. In 1778-79, Multan was recovered from Sikhs by Taimur Shah, a successor of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who appointed Muzaffar Khan of the Saddozai clan as its governor. The latter's appointment was confirmed by Shah Zaman, and by Shah Mahmud as and when they ascended the throne. Muzaffar Khan was an able and energetic man and he had made considerable improvements in the Multan Province.

The fort of Multan which gave the city the reputation of its being a place of strength, was built in 1640 on the site of the old city by Murad Bakhsh, son of Shahjahan. Subsequently it has formed the *jagir* of his brother Dara Shikoh. As regards the fort of Multan, it "stands on a mound of earth, and is an irregular figure of six sides, the longest of which, towards the north-west, extends for about 400

5. *Multan District Gazetteer, 1902*, p. 50.

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yards. The wall has upwards of thirty towers and is substantially built of burnt brick, to the height of forty feet outside; but in the interior, the space between the ground and its summit does not exceed four or five, and the foundations of some of the buildings overtop the wall, and are to be seen from the plain below....The fortress of Multan has no ditch, the nature of the country will not admit of one being constructed;..."⁶

The province of Multan occupied an advantageous position in that it wedged itself between the Muslim states of Bahawalpur and those of Sindh; hence any one occupying it could prevent their joining hands with each other, against a common enemy. Besides, the province had a revenue of about Rs. 6, 80, 975 per years which could be a big addition to any exchequer.

In view of these advantages, Ranjit Singh was keen to possess the rich area of the Multan province. For this, he launched a number of expeditions between 1802 and 1818, which initially remained confined to the collection of tribute from the Nawab of Multan, till in 1818, when he finally made up his mind and, after a fierce battle, captured it.

First Expedition (1802)

The Maharaja had just returned after having reduced the rebellion at Kasur, when he decided to march towards Multan. His troops were tired and were not in a position to launch another expedition so soon. His courtiers endeavoured to dissuade the Maharaja from this venture. But, the indefatigable Ranjit Singh brushed aside these counsels and marched towards the rich Multan. He assembled his forces, exhorted them and marched towards Multan. Rest when a new kingdom was in the process of creation was not acceptable.

When the Lahore forces were about 30 miles short of Multan, Muzaffar Khan came out to meet the Maharaja; it was their first meeting. Instead of giving a fight to the intruder, the Nawab offered a huge sum as *nazrana*, and also promised to pay to the Lahore Darbar a yearly tribute. The Sikh force then returned to Lahore.

Second Invasion (1805)

After sometime, the Nawab had stopped paying the tribute. So, the Sikh force, once again, advanced towards Multan in 1806.⁷ When the Lahore vanguard reached Kot Mahtam (now known as Khan

6. Burnes, *op. cit.* (2nd Ed.), Vol. I, pp. 96-7.

7. According to Lepel Griffin, *The Panjab Chiefs*, 1890, Vol. I p. 81. and *Multan District Gazetteer* (p. 56), the invasion took place in 1806.

Bahadurgarh) a village twenty miles north of Multan, the Nawab came out to meet the Maharaja and offered Rs. 70,000 as tribute. Ranjit Singh had not yet finished the task that Holkar, having been defeated by the British, entered his territory for refuge. Hence, the Maharaja, having bestowed a valuable *khillat* on the Nawab, returned to Amritsar. (Since the Maharaja did not want his dominion to become a battle-field, he declined to accede to Holkar's request to help him against the British.)

Third Invasion (1807)

During March 1807, Ranjit Singh captured Kasur. Having celebrated the victory at Lahore and Amritsar, he proceeded towards Dipalpur and reduced the fort there. Thence Ranjit Singh marched towards Multan.

There were many reasons for undertaking this expedition. It is said that it was undertaken on the instigation of one Abdul Samad Khan, the Saddozai Chief, who had earlier been appointed the governor of Multan by Shah Zaman, but was later ousted by Muzaffar Khan and had taken refuge at Lahore. Secondly, the Nawab, who under the terms of the treaty of 1802, renewed in 1805-06, had acknowledged submission to the Maharaja, had given protection to Ahmad Shah Sial, the defeated Chief of Jhang and the enemy of Lahore. He had also rendered help to the Sial Chief in men and money, and enabled him to recover some parts of his lost territory. Thirdly, the Nawab of Multan was suspected of having intrigued with the Nawab of Kasur against Ranjit Singh. Fourthly, the Nawab had dilly dallied in paying the promised tribute for which explanation had been asked for from the Nawab. When no satisfactory answer was forthcoming, Ranjit Singh decided to send another expedition to Multan. The Lahore force marched towards Multan during the latter half of March 1807, and enroute occupied a number of small garrisons belonging to the Nawab of Multan. On his arrival at Multan, Ranjit Singh sent a messenger to the Nawab asking the latter to explain his conduct. The Nawab having realised the Maharaja's strength apologised for his past deeds and, as usual, offered the invader a *nazrana* of Rs. 70,000. Ranjit Singh accepted this and retired "with credit." And the Nawab, immediately after this, proceeded on a *haj* to Mecca from where he returned, after an absence of fourteen months, at the close of 1808.

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Fourth Invasion (1813)

The fourth invasion of Multan was launched in 1810. The Nawab of Multan had again abstained from paying the yearly tribute. So the Maharaja despatched a sufficiently strong force to deal with the Nawab. Meanwhile, the Nawab had made contacts with the East India Company to seek their help against the Sikhs, but to no avail.⁸ The Sikh force, this time, was commanded by the famous General Diwan Mohkam Chand. The force reached before the walls of Multan on 24th February; and the next day after a fierce battle, in which both sides lost heavily, the Sikhs occupied the city of Multan. The capture of Multan city by the Sikhs, spread an alarm throughout the country side. Mohammad Khan, the Chief of Leiah and Bhakkar, paid Ranjit Singh a tribute of Rs. 1,20,000.⁹ The Bahawalpur Nawab's offer of Rs. 1,00,000 was rejected and he was compelled to provide a contingent of 500 cavalry for the ensuing battle for the Multan fort.

The Sikh army now laid siege to the Multan fort, where the defenders had retired to, and which had already been prepared for defence and was also well provisioned. The siege lasted for about two months. The Sikhs' many attempts to take the fort by assault were foiled. A heavy and incessant bombardment of the fort walls had no effect either. Even the famous zam zama is said to have failed to make any impression on the citadel. At this time, the Diwan fell ill and he had to relinquish the command.

Having failed to breach the fort walls by artillery, mining of the walls restored to; the western wall of the fort was selected for this purpose and was blown off. During this process three Sikh generals including Hari Singh Nalwa were seriously injured by the flowing stones; Atar Singh Dhari and his twelve men were killed on the spot. The Sikh troops became furious and entered the fort through the breach. A hand to hand fighting took place; the Nawab realising his hopeless position raised a white flag and the fighting ended. The

8. When Elphinstone, who was on his way to the court of Shuja-ul-Mulk at Peshawar, visited Multan, and met the Nawab, who had just returned from Mecca, the latter expressed a desire to place himself under the British protection, but the British Envoy had no brief on the subject. On this the Nawab opened direct correspondence with the Governor-General at Calcutta. Lepel Griffin, revised by Nassy, 1890, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

Nawab was captured and brought before the Maharaja; the Nawab's request, however, was pardoned by the Maharaja.

On 7th April 1810, a treaty¹⁰ was concluded to the effect that the Nawab would pay the Maharaja a yearly tribute of Rs. 1,25,000.¹¹ Of this, thirty thousand rupees were paid in advance, and for the balance, Abubakr, Muzaffar Khan's brother-in-law, was delivered as a hostage; the arrears were to be cleared in two equal instalments. The Nawab also promised to provide at his own expense, and when so required by the Maharaja, 500 *sawars* and an equal number of infantry; and the Maharaja promised to protect the Nawab against any aggression.¹² Lastly, the Nawab was to bear all the expenses of the expedition.

The Maharaja left Multan on 14th reaching Lahore on 25th April 1810.

Fifth Invasion 1812

Shortly after the conclusion of the above terms in April 1810, Nawab Muzaffar Khan, again, resumed correspondence with the British seeking help against the Sikhs. The British, however, declined to accede to his request. And in the process the Nawab hesitated to pay the promised tribute. So, another expedition, this time under Dal Singh was despatched to deal with the Nawab. The tribute was collected and the force returned to Lahore. (It is said that the Nawab had to sell his jewellery worth Rs. 50,000 at Delhi to make up the required amount of the *nazrana*.)

Sixth Invasion 1816

During the early part of 1816, the Maharaja toured the areas of Pak Pattan, and sent a few of his generals to execute a fresh agreement with the Nawab of Bahawalpur. Having carried out this task, he marched to Harappa and then to Tolamba. At the latter place the Nawab of Multan sent an agent with rich presents for the Maharaja. But, the latter refused to accept so small a *nazrana* and demanded Rs. 1,20,000. This demand was not met by the Nawab; so Ranjit

10. Baba Prem Singh Hoti, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Panjabi) (1918), p. 160.

11. According to Latif and Lepel Griffin, the tribute paid was rupees two and a half lakhs, plus a promise from the Nawab to provide twenty chargers and a contingent for the Lahore Darbar in time of war. (*History of the Panjab*, p. 387, Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 82.)

12. In 1813, when Multan was threatened by Kabul, Prince Kharak Singh was sent with a force to the assistance of the Nawab, and the danger was averted.

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Singh invested and reduced Ahmadabad and advanced towards Salar Wahan. From here, a detachment of the Lahore troops under Akali Phoola Singh was despatched to enforce the tribute demanded. The Akali general, with some of his fanatic followers, intoxicated¹³ with the *khalsai josh*, stormed the city with such dash that they were able to capture the city and also a part of the citadel. The Nawab, seeing the situation unfavourable to him, remitted a sum of Rs. 80,000, "quicker than he would otherwise have done," and promised to pay the balance of Rs. 40,000 in a short time. This was agreed to and the invading force returned to Lahore.

Seventh Invasion 1817

An usual, the Nawab discontinued paying the promised tribute. So, in January 1817, another expedition, this time under Diwan Bhawani Das, was sent to Multan. Mistr Diwan Chand, the Artillery Commander, followed the main body with a large number of guns. The fort was besieged; and the Nawab put up a gallant defence. Diwan Bhawani Das, who was not a soldier but a civil administrator, proved to be a mediocre commander lacking in determination. A number of skirmishes took place between the two forces, but no determined attack was launched.¹⁴ So, instead of forcing the issue he lifted the siege after a few days and returned to Lahore,¹⁵ where he was suitably punished by the Maharaja. He was arrested and a fine of Rs. 10,000 was imposed on him.

The Multanis were so much impressed by the Sikh invasion of Multan that they started saying : "*sain jo bala andi hai uthiyon di hai*" (misfortune, when it comes is from the north).¹⁶

The Final Invasion 1818

By now, the Maharaja had completed the inner circle of his conquests by annexing the minor states of Khushab, Sahiwal, Mitha Tiwana, Jhang, Pakpattan, Kasur, etc. So, he expected no threat

13. According to *Multan District Gazetteer* (p. 58.), Akali Phoola Singh was intoxicated with *bhong*.

14. "These attempts, however, were not made in earnest." Lepel Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 185.

15. Diwan Amar Nath accuses Bhawani Das of receiving a bribe of Rs. 10,000 from Nawab Muzaffar Khan and thus abstaining from forcing the issue. (*Zafarnama Ranjit Singh*, p. 102.)

16. *Multan District Gazetteer*, p. 52.

from this direction, and was free to deal with bigger targets, such as Multan, Kashmir, the Derajat, and Peshawar. Multan had defied Ranjit Singh so far. But, this time he was determined to finish the Afghan hegemony on his southern flank. Also, the Nawab had every time promised to pay tribute, but, after sometime had almost always failed to fulfil his word.

This invasion was to prove a struggle for life and death, a struggle for survival. So, both the opponents made considerable preparation for the coming event. For this expedition, Ranjit Singh, on his part, collected a force of 25,000 foot, and horse,¹⁷ along with a large number of guns including the *zam zama*. The artillery element was under the command of General Ilahi Bakhsh ; Misr Diwan Chand, a selection made on merit, was appointed the overall force commander. But, as was then customary, the nominal command of the expedition was given to Prince Kharak Singh.

To the force commander, the Maharaja had issued his orders thus : "give the Multan vakils a frank reply that it is my intention to occupy Multan and so they should not talk of the giving of *nazrana*."¹⁸

The latter part of 1817 was devoted to preparations for the Multan expedition. For this, extensive administrative arrangements were made which the Maharaja himself supervised. Some of these were as under :

- (a) Local officers all along the route from Lahore to Multan were ordered to arrange for food supplies. They were also commanded to collect as many men as possible, and also ammunition.
- (b) At Kot Komalia, half-way between Lahore and Multan a big base was established under the charge of one of the queens.
- (c) All the available boats on the rivers Ravi and Chanab were commanded to facilitate move of the troops and ammunitions. All the ferries over these rivers were guarded.
- (d) In order to facilitate the passage of orders, news, etc, special postal arrangements were made, in that a postal *chauki* was established at a distance of every three miles.

17. According to Griffin the force was 18,000 strong (*Ranjit Singh*, p. 185) ; Sita Ram Kohli in his *Ranjit Singh* (p. 141) puts it as 20,000 ; *Multan District Gazetteer* (p. 58), and Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 86, put the figure at 25,000.

18. In view of this, Latif's statement, that the Maharaja now demanded "An exorbitant sum together with five of Muzaffar Khan's best horses," sounds hollow. Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 411. Prinsep is also wrong in making a similar statement.

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- (d) A large number of bullocks were arranged for carrying the guns.

On the opposite side, the Nawab had also made great preparations to meet this attack. He prepared the defences the like of which the Sikhs had never before seen. He had also shouted the cry of *jihad* to obtain help from the adjoining Muslim states; and a large number of Muslims (some say about 20,000) assembled under the Nawab's banner; he issued them with arms. But, the Maharaja who expected this had already catered for this Muslim combination, and was able to wean away some of them. The Nawab had dumped in the fort large quantities of arms, ammunition and provisions.

The tall, fair-looking Afghans were armed with swords and spears; and they lacked in order and discipline of all sorts. On the other hand, the Lahore force was composed of disciplined troops; they were armed with muskets and had an efficient artillery.

Misr Diwan Chand with his force left Lahore for Multan by the end of January 1818. Capturing Khangarh and Muzaffargarh enroute, he appeared in front of Multan in the first week of February. The Nawab, as usual, offered to pay a tribute, if the Sikh army returned to Lahore. But this time the matters were not to end here, as the Maharaja was determined to capture Multan. The offer was rejected.

The Battle

The battle for Multan was fought in three phases. In the first phase, it was fought for the countryside around Multan; in the second phase, for the city of Multan; and finally, the third phase, for the formidable fort of Multan.

The Afghans were no match for the well trained and disciplined troops of the Maharaja. The result was that the *first phase*, the battle for the countryside was over in a single day.

The *second phase* commenced with the Sikh forces closely besieging the city of Multan defended by Afghans under Nawab Muzaffar Khan himself. The siege lasted a number of days and the city walls were pounded by the Lahore artillery; the incessant cannonading created many breach by in the wall, through which the invaders entered the city and took possession of it in February. What left of the defenders, about 2,000 now shut themselves inside the fort.

The *third phase* of the battle began in March when the fort was besieged. At this time of the year there was no water in the moat nor was any expected during the month of April. Since water in the moat would have made the fort more formidable, the intention was to

capture it before the monsoons set in. In the first instance, and in order to avoid blood-shed, the Nawab was told to surrender and, in turn, was offered a good *jagir*. The Nawab was inclined to agree to this offer; he was willing to surrender the fort of Multan and all other territory, if he was allowed to retain Khangarh and Shujabad. But, on reproachment from his officers, who preferred death to the life of slavery, the Nawab changed his mind and decided to continue fighting. And when Ranjit Singh was informed of the Nawab's decision he exhorted his commander to force the issue by arms.

On this, the invaders deployed their batteries on commanding positions, entrenched themselves and started shelling the walls of the fort. The defenders made many sorties, many desparate encounters took place between the detachments of the opposing armies, and both sides lost a number of men. On the other hand, the continuous artillery firing of the Sikhs had breached the walls of the citadel at several places, and in the course of April, the upper works of the defences were almost all demolished. The following month the approaches close to the *fausse braye* of the works were carried. The bombardment went on till 2nd of June. The great *bhangian di top* or *zamzama*, which had been brought from Lahore, was now in full play; it had been fired four times with effect. Other heavy guns, numerous in numbers, were also well employed. Two practical breaches were made in the wall, and the gates blown up, but the defenders raised mounds of earth behind them, and from these engaged the assailants.¹⁹ The Afghans fought valiantly and repulsed heavy casualties. Many defenders, who had been bribed, deserted the Nawab and went over to the enemy. And only two or three hundred defenders, mainly of the Nawab's own tribe or family were left to fight the last battle.

At last, the fort walls were breached after eighty hours of metal having been shelled into them. *Zamzama* had done the trick near the Khizri Gate. It was during this period that a soul-stirring incident took place; an incident witnessed by an Afghan spy (Ghulam Jilani) roaming about in the Sikh camp in disguise. He has recorded this incident, in his description of the battle in *Jang-i-Multan*.

He writes that during the bombardment of the fort-walls, a wheel of one of the Sikh guns was damaged and the gun rendered unserviceable. This was the time when a few more shots were required to cause a breach in the wall. The repairs would have taken a long time, and time was so precious; every minute mattered. Suddenly, a solution to

19. Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

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the problem dawned on the Sardar in charge of the gun. He told his men that the gun would fire if its axle on the broken-wheel side could be supported by laying one's shoulders to it; and this meant certain loss of one's life. But, no sacrifice is greater than the one given in the cause of one's faith. This was the spirit inculcated in the Khalsa by their Gurus by setting personal examples. Naturally, no sooner the suggestion was made than the whole of the gun-crew volunteered to lay their shoulders to the gun's axle. Every one of the gunners wanted to be the first to sacrifice his life. But, the Sardar ordered them to follow in their order of seniority, which gave him the first chance. The Sardar was followed by other gunners one by one, till by the eleventh shot a hole was pierced in the fort wall.²⁰

On 2nd June, when the fort-wall was breached, the fanatic, reckless Sadhu Singh²¹ to surpass what Phoola Singh had done earlier in 1816, with forty of his desperate followers rushed through a breach into the fort and took the defenders by surprise. The Akali leader and thirty-four of his followers were killed in this desperate action. The main body of the Sikh force had also made a simultaneous rush through the Khizri Gate and carried the entire works. A hand-to-hand fighting took place, the noise and confusion of which was remembered for many decades thereafter. The contest went on fiercely till the grey bearded

20. Ghulam Jilani writes that while watching this affair he was moved by the spirit of self-sacrifice on the part of the Sikhs, was himself inspired and had nearly volunteered to put his shoulder too to the axle. But, something kept him back. According to him, he thought that if he also went the way these Sikhs had sacrificed their lives, there would be no one left to narrate this heart-rending story of the unique spirit of self-sacrifice on part of the Sikhs of the Guru in the Panthic cause.
21. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 141; Griffin, *Punjab Chiefs*, p. 86; Lepel Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 186; Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 411; Hugel, *Travels*, p. 378; Diwan Amar Nath, (Memors of the Reign of Ranjit Singh, (Reproduced in *Calcutta Review*, December 1858); S. R. Kohli, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 145; Prinsep, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 115, all agree it was Sadhu Singh. Steinbach, (*The Panjaub*, p. 69) also states it was Sadhu Singh, but he puts this incidence having taken place in 1815 which is not correct. Some authorities claim it was Akali Phoola Singh. but, according to Sohan Lal, the Akali Chief was then in Attock. According to Smvthc, *Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 188), this Akali was Jassa Singh, the "well known ...fanatic of such pretensions to sanctity that, contrary to usual practice, he strictly denied himself the use of *bhang* or *sookha*, the only intoxication drug in use among the Akalis. So pious was he reported to be among his comrades, that he was commonly known as Maullah Singh..."

Nawab Muzaffar Khan²² and his five sons along with others had fallen fighting. A few of the ardent defenders made good their escape. The fort, along with the Nawab's remaining three sons, Sarfraz Khan, (Zulfikar Khan who was wounded in the face) and Amir Beg Khan, and 303 men, that is what was left of the garrison, surrendered the same day.²³ The three brothers and the other remaining members of the Nawab's family were conducted to Lahore with all honours; the brothers were given a *jagir* at Sharakpur and Noulakha of the estimated value of Rs. 30,000 per annum, which was later commuted to a cash pension. In this campaign the Afghans lost in killed about 12,000 men including the Nawab and his five sons. The Sikhs' loss was about 4,000 men including a number of commanders of note.

Multan was plundered and many houses were razed to the ground. It is said that out of the total loot of over two millions, only about five lakhs worth found its way into the "*sarkari khazana*" at Lahore.²⁴ When all was over, Prince Kharak Singh entered the fort and took possession of all the state property and treasures.

This was followed by the subjugation of the Shujabad²⁵ fort from where a considerable booty in cash, silver, gold and other valuables came to hand.

The walls of the Multan fort were repaired; and leaving there a garrison of 600 men under Sardars Jodh Singh Kalsia and Dal Singh Naharna, the Darbar army returned to Lahore. The victory was celebrated in a grand style. Sardars who had participated in this campaign were given *inams* and *jagirs*. Mir Diwan Chand, the conqueror of Multan, was awarded the title of *zafar-jang-bahadur* (the victorious in battle), and was also given a *jagir* worth Rs. 25,000 and a *khillat* of the value of one lakh rupees. Donations were sent to

22. Muzaffar Khan's name was revered till long after. His tomb was built opposite the shrine of Baha-ud-Din, in one of the holiest sanctuaries of Multan.

23. Napoleon took nine months to reduce the stronghold of Mantua (Italy) 1796-97.

24. It is said, that when the force returned to Lahore, all the officers, soldiers and *jagirdars* were ordered to account for the loot. Without murmur or outrage or resistance they all surrendered the treasures. Prinsep, *op. cit.*, p. 116.) A similar instance had occurred when Nadir Shah, whilst returning from India, had every one of his soldiers searched on his crossing the Indus, for the Delhi spoils.

25. This fortress, located twenty three miles south of Multan, was built by Shuja Khan, the Abdali's Governor of Multan. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

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every place of the Sikh, Hindu and Mohammedan worship at Lahore. A large amount as an offering was sent to Darbar Sahib at Amritsar. The first man, a *chobdar* of Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, who had brought to the Maharaja the news of victory, was presented with a pair of gold bracelets and a sheet of rich *kalabatun*.

One wonders why so many expeditions had to be taken before Multan was captured, or why its conquest was delayed so much. There are many reasons for this. Some historians attribute it to the Maharaja's generosity, in that he did not want to capture it, but only wished to establish his sovereignty over it. According to the others, the Maharaja was more interested in the acquiring of its wealth than the state itself, and, before its final capture, everytime he went there he returned with huge sums as *nazrana*. The third reason given is his lack of strength to capture it.

In view of the circumstances then prevalent, none of these reasons distracted him from taking over Multan. The Maharaja, who was in the process of creating a kingdom, had planned first to subjugate the smaller principalities lying on the close vicinity of Lahore before he went for the bigger targets. Every time he went to Multan, he was able to exact *nazrana* from the Nawab; this does not go for a sign of weakness. Whatever may be the reasons for delay, but once he had made up his mind, as is evident from the instructions he gave to his chief general at the time of launching the final campaign, nothing could stop him from achieving his aim. To achieve his aim he had made thorough preparations; he had collected a well trained and suitably organised force which he placed under the command of a capable general; he had issued to the commander clear and concise instructions and there was no ambiguity left in these. He had devoted his full attention towards the capture of Multan for which he had concentrated all the resources required. It seems that he had all the other operations suspended for the time being.

The fighting for Multan clearly brings out that poorly trained and inefficiently led troops are no match for a well trained, suitably organised and a capably led force. That determined leadership can always produce goods. Although it is useful to be imbued with religious fanaticism, but it cannot make up for the lack of discipline, organisation and training.

Throughout the duration of the campaign, the Maharaja had kept himself posted about the progress of the campaign, for which he

had evolved the system of relay-posts all along the route between Lahore and Multan.

The Maharaja had realised the importance of administration—an important battle winning factor. As such, he have had made all the possible administrative arrangements for the campaign as already explained, and had placed them under the charge of a responsible person.

As for the Sikh troops' high morale, the story of the gunners as narrated by Ghulam Jilani is an adequate explanation. Although, both the sides were imbued with religious zeal, the Sikhs proved better off.

Although "no victory of the Maharaja had been more fiercely disputed or so hardly won as this ;"²⁶ but, politically, the capture of Multan had brought many an advantage in its wake. By annexing the Multan territory, Ranjit Singh had extended his hold along the Indus from Attock in the north to the Panjnad in the South. It broke the Afghan power in the Punjab and opened the road to Sindh. The only Afghan hold now left east of the Indus was in the Kashmir Valley; and to deal with it he was now free. The Afghans in Kashmir, for their communications with Peshawar and Kabul had to cross the Indus in the north of Attock and were thus vulnerable to any sorties from the Attock fort. The capture of Multan gave the Maharaja control of the trade route running from Kandhar and passing through Multan going to Delhi. It also opened the road to Sindh, but he either did not or could not take advantage of it, i.e., capture Sindh and make an opening into the Arabian Sea. Probably he was more concerned with the Pathan hold in Kashmir and Peshawar than the British whose interference he did not expect as a result of the Amritsar treaty with them.

The conquest of Multan considerably increased the Maharaja's prestige; the disgrace of his recent retreat from Kashmir was now washed away.

Financially, it brought to the Lahore treasury large revenues, amounting to Rs. 6,80,975 per annum, as worked out by Sita Ram Kohli.

26. Lepel Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 123.

Jean Baptise Ventura

DEVINDER KUMAR VERMA*

Ventura was the most prominent of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's foreign officers. He was an Italian by birth.¹ He was born in 1785.² Very little is known about his childhood. He joined the Napoleon's infantry regiment as a commissioned officer in the year 1810. Later on he rose to the rank of a Colonel.³ He served Napoleon in various campaigns—battle of Wagram, Moscow campaign of 1812 and finally in the battle of Waterloo in 1815. He had a chequered career.

After the fall of Napoleon, in the year 1815, his infantry regiment was disbanded which was a death blow to the military aspirations of the youths of France. He, along with his friend Allard, left Europe to seek his fortune in the East. Ventura first tried his fortune in Egypt and Persia, but finding no openings under Shah Abbas, he travelled towards India via Herat and Kandhar. On hearing the favourable and lucrative opportunity in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Darbar he reached Peshawar in the year 1822.⁴ He had very bad days at Peshawar. He reached Shahdra in Lahore on March 10, 1822,⁵

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1. Amar Nath, Diwan, *Zafarnamah-i-Ranjit Singh*, p. 153; Prinsep, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 133; Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, Oxford, 1905, p. 137; Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 88; Steinbach, *The Punjab*, p. 61; Osborne, *The Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, p. 161.
2. G.W. De Rhe-Phillipe, 'Inscription on Christian Tombs or Monuments in the Punjab, Part II, Bibliographic Notes,' cited in the article of Brigadier H. Bulluck, 'General Ventura's family and Travels,' *Indian Archives*, Jan. 1947, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 18. Some writers consider 1792-93 to be the date of birth in place of 1785. The controversy seems to be due to the confusion as 1792-93 mentioned by E. Grey and Garrett, in their edited book *Adventurers in Northern India*, this has been blindly copied by later writers, both foreign and Indian without verifying and comparing.
3. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, p. 133; Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
4. S.M. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1916, p. 427.
5. Amar Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 153; Grey and Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Ahmad Shah Batalvi, *Tarikh-i-Punjab* (Pbi. tr. by Gurbax Singh, Punjabi University, Patiala), p. 99.

accompanied by Allard. When Maharaja Ranjit Singh enquired about their nationality and experience of military affairs, they replied, "we are Frenchmen and we are also well-versed in the art of manoeuvring an army, since our business is war and thus we are soldiers."

At first Maharaja Ranjit Singh was very suspicious of their motives, and could not at all understand what could have induced the two youngmen of France, to travel so far. He could not believe that employment in his service was a sufficient object to have induced such a journey. The Maharaja had a doubt about their nationality. To get this doubt cleared he ordered them to submit an application which they drafted in French language.⁶

For further investigation the Maharaja ordered James Junior to write a letter on behalf of Moorcroft to Ventura and Allard. James Junior, as desired by the Maharaja, tore the seal from the cover of one of the Moorcroft's old letters to be addressed to the Maharaja and affixed it on the feigned letter. The letter was sent through a messenger to the addressees.

The contents of the letter were to the effect that Moorcroft was very glad to hear that they had arrived safely at Lahore, that he was in Ladakh and begged to know their future, and the business that brought them there.

On looking at the letter Ventura and Allard replied, "We are not known to Moorcroft; we are not from his country, and have no correspondence with him, besides being not personally acquainted with him."⁷

In the meantime the Maharaja had also received the information regarding Ventura and Allard from Delhi that they were really Frenchmen.

Steinbach writes in this connection "a submissive and judicious letter from these officers removed the apprehension of the Maharaja and he, with the spirit and originality of a man of genius, admitted them into his service. The good conduct and the wise management of these gentlemen speedily removed Ranjit Singh's prejudices against the Europeans; and the door to employment being thrown open, several military men entered the service

6. For French version of the application see Baba Prem Singh Hoti, *Khalsa Raj De Badeshi Karinde*, pp. 25-6.

7. Punjab Records Book No. 94, letter No. 55, cited in Grey and Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

of the Maharaja."⁸

Thus Ventura was employed on the Maharaja's becoming satisfied that he knew his trade well. He also agreed to abstain from eating of beef, shaving of beard and smoking, in future.⁹

He was put in charge of training Sikh infantry on European model.¹⁰

He received the command of the *Fauj-i-Khas* or special brigade, the most famous and efficient in the Khalsa Army. It is said that at one time the *Fauj-i-Khas* was raised to five battalions of infantry and three cavalry regiments ; but at the request of Ventura it was again reduced to four infantry battalions and two regiments of cavalry.¹¹ Thus he raised four battalions of the *Fauj-i-Khas*. Murray has given the internal organisation of the *Fauj-i-Khas*. He says, "as regards the officers of the *kash* brigade, to each company in these battalions there is attached one *subedar*, one *jamadar*, four *havalgars* and four *naiks* and to each battalion one commandant and one adjutant."¹² It has its own emblems, the Eagle and the tricolour flag, with an inscription of martial Guru Gobind Singh, embroidered upon it.¹³ The regiments raised by Ventura had gold medals distributed to them, the officers receiving golden necklace and bracelets instead of medals.¹⁴

He improved the Sikh infantry so well that it rose equal to British standard. It became first in rank, discipline and equipment. One cannot help admiring the high degree of perfection to which Ventura had brought in his army.

The *Fauj-i-Khas* used French words of command in pursuance of the instructions of its French officers. Thus it has often been called the French brigade or the French and Legion. Gardner put it the 'Frenscese camp.'¹⁵

A work, the re-organisation of army occupied, him for several years. The changes in the organisation of that branch of the

8. Steinbach, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

9. S.M. Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

10. Amar Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

11. Lepel Griffin, *History of the Punjab Chiefs*, pp. 124-25; G.L. Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, pp. 90-1.

12. Murray to Wade, Lahore, 16th January, 1827, Bengal Political Consultations, Range 125, Vol. 18, India Office MSS. Records, G.L. Chopra, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

13. *Ibid.*

14. H.R. Gupta, *The Punjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*, p. 167.

15. Gardner, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 185.

military service subsequent to the year of his arrival in Lahore were mostly due to his initiative and skill.¹⁶ Osborne corroborates this fact and remarks that Ventura appears to have met much success in the organisation of infantry, he was invaluable officer of the Maharaja.¹⁷

Ventura was, undoubtedly, an able army officer and temperamentally reserved. By virtue of his ability, energy and conduct he won over the full confidence of the Maharaja in the course of time. He rose to the rank of General. In 1836, he was invested with the title of Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh army.¹⁸

He lived in a big house built by himself in the precincts of Anarkali's tomb at Lahore. It combined the splendour of the East with the comforts of European residence.¹⁹ He had a magnificent garden laid out by himself.

Ventura's salary was fixed at rupees 2,500/- per month.²⁰ However, in the beginning, he was given rupees 500 per month. In 1835, he was granted a *jagir* in the *talluqa* of Sanewal by the Maharaja including two villages which he obtained as a gift for his daughter Victorine.²¹

In 1825, Ventura married an American Christian handsome lady at Ludhiana with the permission of the Maharaja. Some of the high officials attended the marriage of Ventura. The marriage presents given by the Maharaja and other courtiers amounted to Rs. 40,000/-.²² Rs. 10,000/- were given by the Maharaja and Rs. 30,000/- by the Sardars. He was not destined to enjoy the fruits of married life for long. His wife stayed only for a few years with him and bore a daughter—named Victorine—to him. Later on, she left Ventura as he was keeping his *zenana* separately, which she could not brook.²³ Later she lived a very miserable life.

16. G.L. Chopra, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

17. Osborne, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

18. Amar Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 250; Thornton, 'Reign of Ranjeet Singh,' *History of the Punjab*, p. 135; *Catalogue of Khalsa Durbar Records*, p. 33.

19. Baron Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir*, pp. 283-84; Lt. William Barr, *Journal of a March From Delhi to Cabul*, Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p. 44; Grey and Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Cf. Syed Muhammad Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

20. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 319.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 236, 556.

22. Amar Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 163; Brigadier H. Bullock, 'General Ventura's Family and Travels,' *The Indian Archives*, Jan. 1947, No. 1, Vol. I, p. 18; S.M. Latif, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

23. Prem Singh Hoti, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

JEAN BAPTISE VENTURA

We do not have much information about the performance of Ventura in the battle field. We, however, learn that he had participated in several important battles—Naushera in 1823, Bethiar (Kangra) in 1828, Peshawar in 1834 and those of the Derajat,²⁴ Kangra, etc., and few minor campaigns across the Indus towards Sindh.

In the year 1823, Mohammad Azim Khan called upon the Afghans of Peshawar and Attock to unite under his banner and wage a *jehad* against the Sikhs and recover all the Afghan territory. On the other hand Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent a big force under the command of Prince Kharak Singh, Misr Diwan Chand and Ventura, and even appealed to the Akalis to join him against this danger. Thus, as Sinha says, "the fanaticism of Akalis was pitted against the fanaticism of the Ghazis."²⁵ The battle was fought on March 14, 1823, at a place, Naushehra. The Akalis, under the command of Phula Singh, fought very bravely. Although Akali Phula Singh was killed in the battle, the Sikhs emerged victorious. "The Sikh victory at Naushera sounded the death-knell of Afghan supremacy beyond the river Indus."²⁶ It established the Maharaja's power between Indus and Peshawar.²⁷ Ventura and Allard's cutting of the Mohammad Azam Khan's help to the Afghans resulted in the victory of the Sikhs.²⁸

In the year 1828, Ventura undertook the successful campaign of Kangra for which he was properly rewarded (village Murranpore) by the Maharaja.²⁹

On April 7, 1831, Ventura and Lehna Singh Majithia were ordered to go to Bhawalpur to realise the arrears of tribute from the Nawab there. They were asked "to keep in mind the prosperity of the country by taking special care of the poor and weak 'so that the people might remain settled in their desert of misfortune.'"³⁰

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had great weakness for the best breed of horses. His passion for horses amounted almost to craze.³¹ When he came to know that a famous mare Laili, known for its beauty in

24. Amar Nath, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-96.

25. N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 62.

26. B.J. Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p. 121.

27. N.K. Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

28. Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab* (Pbi. trns. Jit Singh Sittal), pp. 288-89.

29. Jagjiwan Mohan Walia, *Parties and Politics at the Sikh Court, 1799-1849*, p. 30.

30. Sohan Lal Suri, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

31. W.G. Osborne, *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh*, p. 91.

Afghanistan and Panjab and which was the property of Yar Mohammad Khan of Peshawar³² he sent the demand for the same.

Yar Mohammad evaded it several times by sending another horse under the name of Laili. The Maharaja deputed Budh Singh to procure Laili but he had no success. Then Prince Kharak Singh was sent for the same. Yar Muhammad, who considered that his honour was involved in Ranjit Singh's demand, fled to the hills. Prince Kharak Singh remained at Peshawar for eight months and later on retired to Lahore, leaving Sultan Muhammad Khan as governor, but the Sikh army had not proceeded farther than Attock when Yar Muhammad drove the new governor from Peshawar. At this time General Ventura, who was at Attock, was ordered by the Maharaja to move towards Peshawar with a big force³³ to get hold of the mare, for which he was to offer any price that would be acceptable to the owner. But if refused he was to renew hostilities. General Ventura was first involved in warfare with Syed Ahmad who had raised the standard of revolt in Peshawar.³⁴ Having defeated him Ventura demanded a mare from Sultan Muhammad Khan whom he promised to confirm in the governorship if he gave the mare. The promise did not work. Thus he was compelled to arrest Sultan Muhammad Khan. He threatened to hold him in prison till Laili was given. This persistence obtained its deserved success and the general becoming the happy possessor of the coveted mare, took her to Lahore, where she was received with much rejoicing by the Maharaja.³⁵ The horse had cost him 60 lakhs of rupees and 12 thousand soldiers.³⁶ The horse was most perfect animal he had ever seen.³⁷ In 1834 the Sikhs advanced from Attock in two divisions, one on either side of the Kabul river. Those on the left bank were under the personal command of the Maharaja to oppose the Yusaffzais; and those on the right were under Hari Singh Nalwa and Ventura to do battle against the troops of Azim Khan. Azim Khan fled to Kabul and the Sikhs entered Peshawar unopposed.³⁸ Thus in 1835 Ranjit Singh gained a bloodless

32. Kanahiya Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

33. Amar Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Cf., Thornton, *History of the Punjab*, p. 89; Kanahiya Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

34. C.H. Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

35. Sir Lepl Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, pp. 103-04; Baron Hugel, *Travels in the Kashmir and Punjab*, p. 335; Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Kanahiya Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

36. Baron Hugel, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

37. Osborne, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-1.

38. C.H. Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

victory over Peshawar. It added to the Maharaja's prestige and ensured his sway to the west of Indus.³⁹

Dost Mohammad wanted to conquer the fort of Jamrud. In April 1837, he sent a force about 30,000 under the command of his son Akbar Khan for the conquest of Jamrud. On the other hand, Hari Singh Nalwa, a great general of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, lay ill at Peshawar and the garrison of Jamrud had only 800 men. But they managed to hold out against the attack until reinforced from Peshawar and further from Lahore under the command of Prince Nau-Nihal Singh and Ventura. It is pointed out that once again Peshawar was saved by the arrival of Ventura's force. The battle fought at Jamrud was a fierce one in which "the Sikhs had lost their valiant and brave commander Hari Singh Nalwa."⁴⁰ The Afghans failed to capture either Jamrud or recover Peshawar. There was no alternative before Akbar Khan except to retreat towards Jallalabad.⁴¹

Ventura, during the regency of Nau-Nihal Singh quelled the disturbances of Kulu, and annexed some territories of the hill chiefs, including 200 forts.⁴² For his services in this connection, Ventura was not only thanked by the Darbar but also a *khilat* of honour was granted to him.⁴³

After annexing the hill territories, Ventura "issued a general prohibition to all the hill people against selling their children and wives into slavery under the penalty of the severest description."⁴⁴ This aversion to slavery might have been an indication of the new trend of changing social values in the hilly region in the 19th century.

In April 1840, by the orders of Kanwar Nau-Nihal Singh, the brigade with General Ventura and Ajodhia Prashad was sent against Baba Bikram Singh Bedi, who had murdered his nephew Attar Singh.⁴⁵

It is said that Maharaja Sher Singh had written a letter to Bikram

39. N.K. Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-9.

40. B.J. Haŕrat, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

41. C.H. Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

42. *Ibid.*; Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 180; Grey and Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Vol. II, Griffin, *the Rajas of the Punjab*, 1873, p. 586; Cf. Thornton, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 218-19.

43. Grey and Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

44. Ganda Singh (ed.), *The Punjab in 1839-40*, p. 217.

45. 147/III/185, Wade to Madock, 18 December, 1839, PGR. cited in B.R. Chopra, *Kingdom of Punjab 1839-45*, p. 55; Jagjiwan Mohan Walia, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

Singh remonstrating with him for his outrageous conduct and directing him to restore the *jagir*, otherwise a force would be sent to occupy his territory.⁴⁶

But Baba Bikram Singh Bedi was busy, with the help of the soldiers of Nandpur and Kartarpur, in warlike preparations against the Maharaja. At this critical juncture, towards the end of April 1840, Ventura and Ajodhya Prashad were sent to subdue Bikram Singh.⁴⁷ They seized his fort of Malsian and imprisoned his family.⁴⁸

Not only this. Ventura had from time to time, done some odd jobs during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. For example, he was sent to collect the revenue from the Nawab of Bahawalpur.⁴⁹ In 1831 an other order was issued to Ventura asking him to march from Rajanpur and establish himself firmly in Dera Ghazi Khan and engage himself in the collection of the spring revenue,⁵⁰ which he did very honestly. The Maharaja was very happy with his work at Dera Ghazi Khan. According to Sohan Lal Suri, the Maharaja issued an order appreciating the wisdom and intelligence displayed by Ventura. The Maharaja also wrote to him that "the more quickness he would show in sending the huge instalment the more commendation he would deserve."⁵¹

Thus it can be safely said that he was generally sent with the contingents to realise the arrears of dues from the tributaries.

For some time Ventura was given the charge of Derajat as an governor on the condition that he would pay a revenue of eleven and half lakhs of rupees annually to the state. He always presented to the Maharaja very rich offerings.⁵²

Probably it was the success, which Ventura attained as a governor of Derajat, that at one time, induced Maharaja Ranjit Singh to appoint him as governor of Kashmir in place of Mihan Singh.⁵³

Ventura came to the Maharaja, who told him that Mackeson had told him that the country under the control of Dewan Sawan Mal was

46. B. R. Chopra, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Cf. Jagjiwan Walia, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

47. 149/13, Clark to Maddock, May 9, 1840, PGR, cited in B.R. Chopra's *op. cit.*, p. 55; Griffin, *History of the Panjab Chiefs*, pp. 126, 180, 223.

48. Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 180, 223.

49. Sohan Lal Suri (tr.), Vol. III, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 23, 25, 29; N.K. Sinha, p. 115.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 44.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 169; Cf. N.K. Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

53. Grey and Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

very prosperous and added that he was incomparable in the control and administration of his own state. Ventura said why should not his country be prosperous when 20 lakhs of rupees are still with him as arrears.⁵⁴

On account of Ventura's well wishing, faithfulness, devotion, sacrifice in rendering meritorious services to the Lahore Darbar, the Maharaja granted him the title of *Matih-ul-Hukam Wafadar Haq Guzar Khidmat Guzar* (faithful and devoted).⁵⁵

Alexander Burnes writes, "the town of Multan has a prosperous appearance, which is altogether attributed to Ventura, who was until lately (1836) in charge of it. Under Bahawal Khan, the officers were guilty of the greatest extortion, but since 1832, when the Sikh resumed it, the place has greatly recovered."⁵⁶

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was very fond of new inventions. He wanted that a new model of the boat should be manufactured which could run by *paddels* instead of hand *chappus*. So that it could be best utilized both ways up and down, without much caring for the direction of the wind. At the same time speed could also be enhanced without spending much energy. Ventura was called upon to construct a stream boat,⁵⁷ and he offered his service to undertake this tedious work. He with the help of his friend Gardner, was able to construct double roofed boat having two small guns fitted on it. Though the boat was not very effected when taken opposite to the flow of the river, even then the Maharaja rewarded Ventura with a cash of Rs. 20,000.⁵⁸

In 1837 Ventura went to Europe after having been granted two years leave by the Maharaja. In his absence, Ajodhya Prasad officiated as the commander of the *Fauj-i-Khas*.⁵⁹ Sometime in the beginning of 1839, on hearing the Maharaja's serious illness, Ventura rushed back to the Panjab. He was ordered to proceed towards Peshawar (where he arrived on April 11, 1839) as an attack on Afghanistan was under active consideration in favour of Shah Shujah under the provisions of the Tripartite Treaty, which was concluded between Ranjit Singh,

54. Sohan Lal Suri, Vol. III, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

56. Burnes, *Travels in Cabool*, p. 182.

57. Pearse, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

59. H.R. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Shah Shujah and the East India Company.⁶⁰ It was only at Peshawar that Ventura came to know about the death of the Maharaja which had occurred on June 27, 1839. He started for Lahore on July 2, 1839. His stay at Peshawar had been cut short by the death of the Maharaja, which had caused his recall to Lahore for the same reason for which he had been sent to Peshawar, namely, his influence with the troops.

There were two rival groups of Maharaja Sher Singh, and of Maharani Chand Kaur in the Lahore Darbar after the deaths of Maharaja Kharak Singh and Nau-Nihal Singh. Ventura, the right hand man of Sher Singh along with Dhanna Singh Malwai, Sham Singh Attariwala, Raja Dhian Singh, Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Faqir Aziz-ud-Din and Court, sided with Maharaja Sher Singh. Ventura and Court had assured the Maharaja that they were loyal and devoted to him. The Maharaja felt that Ventura deserved the great credit for his conduct at this time.⁶¹

There was a chaos and confusion at Lahore Darbar and the army had risen into revolt at various places. The discipline had taken the wings. The position of the European officers became very precarious. Beside this, Ventura had incurred the enmity of Gulab Singh and Dhian Singh. All this compelled him to tender his resignation. He did not have very cordial relations with Maharaja Kharak Singh but with Nau Nihal Singh he had good relations and received from him a horse and sword.⁶²

A number of times Ventura had been deputed by the Lahore Darbar to seek friendly relation with the British. Maharaja Kharak Singh desired that General Ventura of the Sikh service to maintain friendly relations with the British Political Agent, Colonel Wade.⁶³

Ventura, after Sher Singh's assassination was sent secretly by Raja Hira Singh, the minister, to Ludhiana to try and strengthen the English alliance by negotiation with Colonel Richmond, the British Resident. But in the end of 1843, disgusted with the insubordination of the troops and clearly for seeing the trouble coming in the country,

60. Grey and Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Baba Prem Singh Hoti, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Cf. Thornton, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

61. Sohan Lal Suri, Vol. IV, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 329, 332.

62. Jagiwan Mohan Walia, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 67.

63. Ganda Singh (ed.), *The Panjab in 1839-40*, pp. 107-08, 349-50.

he finally left the Panjab, where he had served for upwards of twenty four years.⁶⁴

The Duke of Wellington in 1843 started the bogey of French intrigues with the Sikhs. His object, evidently was to prejudice the minds of the British public against the Sikhs and prepare them to quietly swallow the news of the invasion of their country by the British troops whom they had so recently helped in their expedition to Afghanistan. Regarding Ventura of the Sikh service, Duke of Wellington wrote to Ellenborough on February 4, 1843, "his cause should be observed. The religion, the social state, and the politics of the Sikhs render them by far the most appropriate allies for the French of any in that part of Asia, and if once they could establish themselves on the Indus you would have them allied with the Sikhs, their officers in the Sikh army, the politics at Lahore under their direction. I strongly recommend to you, therefore, to watch carefully the mouth of Indus."⁶⁵

The fears of Wellington were, however, belied. Lord Ellenborough succeeded in establishing friendly contact with Ventura and he kept the British Governor-General of India informed of the political developments in the Panjab. It appears as if the General was then acting as a secret agent of the British at Lahore.⁶⁶ But soon after Ventura felt disgusted due to the in subordination of his troops and foreseeing the danger to his life, he submitted his resignation.

When his resignation was not accepted by Maharaja Sher Singh he applied for leave which was granted. He left for Ludhiana. It is said that he had sold his property there. Again he shifted to Lahore in the hope that the matters at Lahore Darbar might have improved, but the assassination of Sher Singh on the 15th of September 1843 extinguished such hopes as he might have had. Thus he had received practical proof of the danger of remaining after the murder of his master and finally quitted the Panjab.⁶⁷

For some time he stayed at Simla and therefrom finally sailed to France in the year 1844. He is said to have come to the Panjab in 1848 to settle his property dispute with the British Government. Though

64. Lepel Griffin. *op. cit.*, p. 128.

65. Colchester, pp. 350-51; cited in Ganda Singh's (Ed.), *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, p. 122.

66. *Ibid.*

67. Lepel Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, Oxford, 1905, p. 141.

number of hinderances were there in his way yet he was able to settle his property dispute.⁶⁸

General Ventura died near Toulouse in the south of France on April 3, 1858.⁶⁹

Ventura always presented to the Maharaja very rich offerings.⁷⁰ He was one of the most loyal officers of the Lahore Darbar. It is borne out by the fact that some of the high-officials of the Darbar praised the loyalty and services of Ventura, which he rendered to the Lahore Darbar. In the words of Hari Ram Gupta, "Raja Heera Singh said that if Maharaja Sher Singh had lived longer, General Ventura would have become minister in the place of late Raja Dhian Singh."⁷¹

Ventura was a fine looking and pleasing youngman. He was neat in his person and dress. He had a long beard.⁷² He was a cool headed and tactful man.

Ventura was a man of literary taste.⁷³ He had also a keen interest in the manufacture of guns. When on January 19, 1840, Ventura presented three newly built small cannons to Maharaja Kharak Singh and Kanwar Nau-Nihal Singh, they felt very much pleased to see them, because the cannons had been constructed perfectly well from every point of view. Thereupon a royal order was issued that Ventura must prepare five cannons more of the same style and fashion and present them afterwards to the *Sarkar*.⁷⁴

68. Grey and Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 115; S.N. Sen 'A Note on General Ventura's Jagir,' *Calcutta Review*, September 1942.

69. Brigadier H. Bulluck, 'General Ventura's family and Travels,' *The Indian Archives*, January 1947, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 18; Cf. G.W. Rhe-Phillip, *Biographical Notices*, Lahore, 1912; *Buckland Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

70. Sohan Lal Suri, *op. cit.*, p. 169; N.K. Sinha *op. cit.* p. 116.

71. H.R. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

72. Baron Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and Panjab*, p. 355; Murray's letter No. 13 Vol. 18, Range 125 cited in Grey and Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

73. Sohan Lal Suri, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

74. Sohan Lal Suri, Vol. IV, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 220.

Anarchy and Confusion in Lahore Army after Maharaja Ranjit Singh

DR. GURBACHAN SINGH NAYYAR*

How the Lahore army entered the phase of anarchy and confusion after Maharaja Ranjit Singh has been a subject of discussion. After the demise of the Maharaja, the Punjab became a centre of dissensions among princes, ministers, chieftains, queens and rival factions. The army gained power and became law unto itself. In the absence of any supreme temporal or religious authority, it sought refuge in the philosophy of Sikhism as propounded by the Gurus and the tradition which had gathered around their names over the years. Its actions were governed by deep religious fervor. The soldiers considered themselves to be the custodians of the *Sarbat Khalsa*. They did all this as it appeared to them as a defensive measure against the desolation of Sikh monarchy and the threat posed by the foreign invasion. Guided by the importance attached to the *Panj Payras* or the five beloved ones in Sikhism, particularly by the last Guru, Guru Gobind Singh, who authorised 'the Five' to baptise any number of disciples to the faith, they considered the authority of 'the Five' as very significant.¹ Perhaps, in accordance with the *Panthic* tradition, they thought themselves authorised to make necessary decisions or *gurmata*s in the absence of the Guru as the Guru was considered to be present in the body of the Khalsa. Thus, influenced by the teachings of the Sikh Gurus as well as by the old tradition, the army was transformed. It formed *panchayats* on the village pattern. These *panchayats* had no set rules except those which governed the traditional village *panchayats*. The *panchayats* took themselves as visible embodiment of the army and the *Panth*. They pressed their demands and forcibly exacted obedience from the rulers.

Gough writes in this connection "Apart from the military organisation of officers and men, there was a system of what were called

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1. B. J. Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations* (Hoshiarpur), 1968, pp. 232-33.

panchayats or committees of five chosen by the men, for companies, regiments, and battalions, deriving their form from the prevalent custom of village government. These committees guided by the united action of the soldiery, were able to dictate to their officers, and later on found themselves able to appear as representing the *Khalsa* in arms, and to dictate to the 'darbar or court, itself.² Gordon states, "Army delegates decided the fate of king and country making and unmaking their rulers and officers. Murder was to settle every claimant, whether as the Maharaja or the Wazir."³

Kharak Singh, the eldest son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh succeeded him as his legitimate successor. Kharak Singh could not manage the affairs of the state and soon found himself in trouble. His confidential adviser, Chet Singh, was not liked by majority of his associates and in particular by Raja Dhian Singh, the chief *vazir*. On 26th September 1839, Dhian Singh told Kharak Singh that "all the army, the state, the treasury, and the servants were entirely at the command of the Maharaja and ready to obey his orders with heart and soul, but that Surdar Cheit Singh ought not to be empowered to issue his orders."⁴ Hira Singh also frankly told Kharak Singh in his *darbar*, when asked, why Jemadar Khushal Singh had not attended the *darbar*, that 'the Jemadar was displeased and offended because his 500 *sowars* were ordered, at Surdar Cheit Singh's suggestion, to encamp near Summon Burj without himself being apprised.'⁵ Similarly, Kharak Singh enquired of Raja Sochet Singh the reason why Bhai Ram Singh and Gobind Ram did not attend the court. He was informed that it was due to the enmity which existed between them and Cheit Singh.⁶ Kharak Singh 'in a loud tone ordered the *sepahees* of Surdar Cheit Singh's regiment to be on the watch at all times with their musquets loaded, and immediately to attack any one who should molest Surdar.'⁷

The new letter of 9th October 1839 revealed that Maharaja Kharak Singh found himself in a very miserable state of affairs on the death of

2. Gough, Charles, *The Sikhs and The Sikh Wars : The Rise, Conquest and Annexation of Punjab State*, Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), p. 51.
3. Gordon, John H., *The Sikhs*, Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), p. 120.
4. Ganda Singh (edited), *The Panjab in 1839-40, Selections from the Punjab Akhbars, etc.*, Sikh History Society, Amritsar, Patiala, 1952, 26th Sept. 1839, p. 129.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, 25th September 1839, p. 128.
7. *Ibid.*

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Cheit Singh. The affairs of the state were taken away from him and began to be conducted by Kanwar Naunihal Singh. The Maharaja was, however, reported of important cases only as the grant or confiscation of *jagirs*.⁸ He was left a ruler in name only. Regarding the miserable plight of Kharak Singh, Shahamat Ali writes, "He was now strictly watched and kept in a state of arrest, being merely a puppet in the hands of his son, and surrounded by his creatures, his own old and confidential servants being removed from about him."⁹ The Maharaja was said to have been bewildered by the savage and cruel treatment of his son. We learnt from a reliable authority that he used sometimes to burst into tears. He once attempted to fly from his persecutors and carried back to his house, or more properly to his dungeon.¹⁰ While Kharak Singh was reduced to such a state, Dhian Singh still found himself in difficulty, as he could not overcome Naunihal Singh, a quite intelligent and ambitious man, who was bent upon to curtail the powers of Dhian Singh. Through the attempts of his son Hira Singh, Dhian Singh was able to regain his position but not to the extent he had enjoyed during Ranjit Singh's time or even under Kharak Singh. Kharak Singh died of serious illness on November 5, 1840 and with his death, came the end of Naunihal Singh while coming back after the funeral obsequies of his father.

Sher Singh gained power through the instrumentality of the army which gained considerably power during his regime. The army raised anarchy and disorder which continued for many months. The troops demanded increase in their monthly pay and the dismissal of all the officers odious to them. Steinbach writes, "the soldiers having elected a council of five of their comrades from each company in every regiment at Lahore, to represent their demands to the government, commenced by entirely annulling the authority of their officers, many of whom they atonce murdered."¹¹

There was, in fact, no control of the Government over the soldiers. The army resorted to violence not only in the capital or in the eastern

8. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

9. Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and the Afghans*, Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), p. 544.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 544-45.

11. Steinbach, *The Punjab*, Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), p. 30.

hills but also brought into its sphere both Kashmir and Peshawar. "The soldiers" writes Steinbach, "at length tired of their own excesses, modified their demands throughout the whole army to the increase of one rupee per month with the gratuity of two month's pay as the reward for their exertions in placing Sher Singh upon the throne. These terms being acceded to by the government, tranquillity became partially restored ; but from that period discipline and subordination may be said to have ceased in the Lahore army."¹²

Sher Singh could not manage the affairs of the government and proved a failure. He absolutely neglected the administration and spent most of his time in chase, drinking or in an undesirable society. A conspiracy was formed against him by Sandhanwalia chiefs. He was shot dead by Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia on September 15, 1843. Immediately after the murder of Sher Singh, Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia stabbed Dhian Singh. Gough writes, "On hearing of the murder, Hira Singh promptly appealed to the army, making effective use of the argument that the Sandhanwalia faction looked to the British for support and would increase British influence in the Punjab. The army at once marched to Lahore, seized and put to death those of the Sandhanwalia family who were there, proclaimed their allegiance to Dhulip Singh, and made Hira Singh vizier."¹³ Dalip Singh was only ten at that stage. Hira Singh too found himself in trouble on attaining power.

The army *panchayats* entered another phase of anarchy and confusion during the period under Hira Singh's ministry. Hira Singh, as a matter of fact, possessed no control over the army as he had avenged the murder of his father with its support. There is plenty of evidence to prove that army was too powerful for Hira Singh as was the case with others after Ranjit Singh.

After the fall of Hira Singh in December 1844, military *panchayats* continued to resume all power. The *panchayats* gave it to be understood that the *Khalsa* was supreme and that the Government must obey orders. Maharani Jind Kaur and even Maharaja Dalip Singh were there by grace of the soldiery. From about July 1845 onwards, the army made Peshaura Singh an instrument to press their own demands.¹⁴

12. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

13. Gough, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

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After Peshaura Singh, Jawahar Singh was put to death by the army which reigned supreme. After Jawahar Singh's death, Rani Jindan made an attempt to persuade several of her courtiers to accept the office of the chief *vazir* but none of them agreed. The reason, according to Giani Gian Singh, was that they were afraid of the army. The entire business was conducted by it. Anyone disagreeing with it was killed.¹⁵ Thereupon Rani Jindan prevailed upon Lal Singh to take up the responsibility of this office. In obedience to the wishes of the army *panchayats*, the regent and the *vazir* managed to carry on the Government for some time when a news reached that the British who were following the policy of encirclement of the Punjab were determined to occupy the territory of the Punjab lying in the east and south of the Satlej.¹⁶ The army *panchayats* which considered themselves to be the embodiment of the *Sarbat Khalsa* did not afford to see the desolation of the Sikh kingdom and expressed deep concern. It was ultimately decided to attack the British. Consequently the Lahore army crossed the Satluj in violation of the treaty of Amritsar, 1809, executed between the British Government and Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This led to the first Sikh war which lasted from December 1845 to March 1846. The army fought under orders of the *panchayats*.

Though the army fought with unparalleled courage yet it suffered defeat due to certain obvious reasons in both the Anglo Sikh Wars. Consequently the army lost its power for good.

15. Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarikh-Guru-Khalsa* (part III), Languages Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), p. 439.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 400.

Some Aspects of Land Prices in the Punjab During the Second Half of the 19th Century

DR HIMADRI BANERJEE*

The development of a brisk land market in the Punjab under British rule has long received the serious attention of scholars. It has generally been studied from the point of view of the *zamindars* who were steadily expropriated by the *sahukars* over the years. The Punjab Government conducted numerous official enquiries on this problem in the late 19th century. Their findings appeared so alarming to many officials that the government eventually agreed to enact the Punjab Land Alienation Act (Act XIII of 1900) prohibiting free transfers of lands from the *zamindars* to the *sahukars*.¹

The movement of land prices over the years did not always receive the same extent of official attention in the 19th century.² In the present century, however, the enforcement of the Land Alienation Act and the

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1. For details, see Norman G. Bararrier, *The Punjab Alienation of Land Bill* (Durham, N. C., 1966).
2. Thorburn, the Commissioner and Superintendent of Rawalpindi division, while carrying on a detailed enquiry in the 12 villages of Sialkot, Gujranwala and Shahpur, made no systematic attempt of analysing the land price statistics at his disposal. Rivaz also missed the important point when he piloted the decisive council debate on the Punjab Land Alienation Act. Similarly, Lyall, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, though well aware of the implication of the changes in the land prices over the years, reviewed the annual land alienation statistics without any reference to land prices. But many senior officials of the province held that the enforcement of the Land Alienation Act would have a depressing effect on the land prices. Consequently, during the first eight years (1901-08) when the operation of the Act was under a special official scrutiny, district officers devoted special attention to the annual land prices and from 1910-11 a new column was added in the annual land revenue report showing sale prices of the estates in terms of the multiple of the *jama*. Simultaneously, the settlement officers were asked to revise their future land revenue demand not merely on the basis of changes in the size of cultivation, rent and crop statistics which they had hitherto been doing, but also with reference to land prices of a district during the inter-settlement period.

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subsequent setting up of the Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry for investigating different rural problems resulted in greater official awareness. Perhaps its first rich harvest was an article of Calvert on land prices.³ His long association with the Punjab co-operative movement did help him in studying this problem. During the next twenty years the Board kept a close watch on it and in the late 1930s published a long time-series statistics (for a period of nearly 40 years from 1896-97 onwards) pointing out the extent of recovery of the provincial economy from the onslaught of depression of the early 1930s.

However, the movement of land prices did not generate much academic enthusiasm till the 1960s. In course of the last ten to twelve years, quite a significant amount of research has been done of which atleast two merit special attention. The first one (obviously in point of time) came from an economist, Professor K. Mukherjee.⁴ He briefly reviewed the causes of the changes of the land prices and his study mainly focussed on the problem from the all Punjab standpoint. Professor N. Bhattacharya in his article on the land market raised certain interesting theoretical questions regarding the land prices under the colonial context.⁵ But these observations, as we shall subsequently see, do not hold good for the entire Punjab of our period. The present paper, while elaborating the causes relating to the changes in the land prices under British rule in the 19th century, will also analyse their variations at the district levels.

I

Before going straight to the problem of land prices, some remarks on the official sale figures would be in order. Annual revenue reports frequently referred to their various imperfections. As early as 1857-58, the Financial Commissioner pointed out : 'I have too little confidence in the correctness of the returns to give much importance to the

3. H. H. Calvert, 'Land Prices in the Punjab', *Indian Journal of Economics*, 1917, pp. 389-98.
4. Karunamoy Mukherjee, 'Land Prices in the Punjab', M. K. Chaudhuri (Ed.), *Trends of Socio-Economic Change in India, 1871-1961* (Simla, 1969), pp. 529-44.
5. Neeladri Bhattacharya, 'Land Market in the Colonial Context : A case study of Punjab', *Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Session of the Indian History Congress* (Calicut, 1976), pp. 306-11.

conclusions to be drawn from them.' These statistics were generally collected by the 'overworked, lowly paid' *patwaris* at the lowest level. They compiled data from the mutation registers 'not always subject to any special check.' Again the prices quoted there were 'probably inflated' in all cases in which there was a 'possibility of pre-emption.' Further, there was no attempt at classifying the different types of lands, viz., uncultivated, cultivated, culturable and urban lands. All of them were frequently brought together and treated alike. Sometimes the provincial average sale prices were unduly depressed by the annual sale of a considerable amount of government waste lands to the 'Crown tenants' at nominal rates in the different canal-irrigated districts of the province. The Financial Commissioner was well aware of these statistical imperfections and frankly admitted that the provincial average sale prices had 'little real economic meaning' and they could hardly be 'a satisfactory guide to the actual selling price of land.'⁶ However, in the absence of better sale statistics, we would use the available official figures as one of the indication of the movement of land prices. Here the land value has been determined in terms of the multiple of the government *jama*.

II

One of the recent studies on the development of land market in the Punjab suggests that with the annexation of the Punjab, land value rose and the number of sale increased over the years.⁷ But the

6. *Annual Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab* (hereafter R.R.), 1858-59, p. 21; *Ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 14; *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 12; *Ibid.*, 1916-17, p. 15; *Ibid.*, 1918-19, p. 19; *Ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 17; *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 17; *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 45; *Ibid.*, 1923-24, p. 45. See also Clive Dewey, 'Patwari and *Chaukidar*: Subordinate officials and the reliability of India's Agricultural Statistics', Clive Dewey and A. G. Hopkins (Eds.) *The Imperial Impact: Studies in the Economics History of Africa and India* (London, 1978), pp. 280-314.

7. Perhaps following the line of argument of Thorburn, Professor Mukherjee pointed out that British rule brought about a very significant change in the extant land laws of the province by conferring 'heritable and transferable right' to the owners of land. It also introduced 'a new form of law courts and the British judicial system' which 'sought to protect and enforce private property rights in land.' This 'creation' of private property right made landed estate immensely attractive and it 'became forthwith a sacbleable assest which enhanced the credit of the peasant proprietor.'

But this view on the development of land market in the Punjab during

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official reports tell a somewhat different story. They indicate that land prices were unusually low and the number of sales by private agreement were equally rare during the first decade of British rule in the province.

Accordingly in 1849 one finds that land was sold at 6 times the government *jama*. It rapidly declined thereafter; in the mid 1850s and in 1858-59, its value was only 3.9 times the *jama*. In the populous central and submontane districts of Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Amritsar where land in the mid 1860s generally fetched 20 to 25 times the government demand, it was sold at 1 to 1.5 time or even less than the revenue demand. The settlement officers often found proprietors deserting their holdings as if they had 'little or no market value.' From the fertile Narowal *pargana* (Amritsar district) it was reported that *zamindars* had suffered many privations and two-thirds of their cattle had disappeared due to high land revenue demand.⁸ The fate of Gujranwala was even worse because the proprietors were of 'pastoral habit and nomadic character.' Here 'land is a drug in the market' and 'property in the same more dreaded for the liabilities attendant thereon, than sought after for the profits accruing therefrom.'⁹ Many of them frequently abandoned their holdings and showed little inclination of recovering them till their prices rose in the early 1860s. The Charkhari Mahal (which represented the 'best part of the irrigated tract' of this district) alone reported a loss of nearly one-fourth (out of 4,000) of its wells. In the Sialkot Charkhari tract also the same story was repeated. Here hundreds of 'fine prosperous villages, once predominantly inhabited by the enterprising Jats, presented a scene of universal desertion.'¹⁰ They emigrated temporarily in spite of the

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the first few years following the introduction of British rule is not wholly borne out by the contemporary records. Actually during the 1850s land did not become a saleable asset as Mukherjee made us believe. Land prices were than unusually low and he placed an undue importance on the role of British law courts. Contemporary revenue records and the reports of the districts further pointed the fact that interference of the civil courts was particularly discouraged on matters relating to land transfer and it was only in the mid 1860s they were allowed to take any cognizance of this issue.

8. Memorandum by Blyth, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Narowal Pargana, Amritsar Settlement Report (hereafter S. R.), 1860, p. 166.

9. Gujranwala S. R. 1860, p. 54; *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 20.

10. Sialkot S. R., 1865, pp. 55-57, 70, 95. See also *The Punjab Administration Report* (hereafter P. A. R.), 1849-50 and 1850-51, p. 109.

pursuasion of the settlement officer.

If such had been the plight of the peasantry in the prosperous central and submontane districts, the fate of their fellow compatriots in the dry south-eastern districts is not hard to imagine. Here the abundance of waste, scarcity of population and insecurity of cultivation continued to depress the land value even in the late 1880s. In these districts land had little attraction to the creditors. They looked more to the debtor's cattle than to his land. Money-lenders had no wish to make a risky investment, thus wrote the settlement officer in the 1880s, by taking the latter on mortgage and becoming responsible for the payment of the revenue. In the early 1850s, therefore, when the lands were alienated, they were often sold at a lower rate than the government *jama*. In the western frontier districts along the Indus, the want of value of landed property to many individuals also drew the attention of the early Revenue officials. Many of them either threw up what was valueless, and for the time left the country or parted with them for sums just sufficient to pay the Government demand for one harvest.

This miserable condition of the *zamindars* was largely an indirect legacy of the official policy of this period. Since its inception in 1849, the Punjab Board of Administration was aware of the bitter consequences of the harsh sale law operations in Eastern India, Oudh and the North-Western Provinces. It, therefore, followed a protective policy and discouraged sale of land on the default of land revenue payment. In 1852 the Board categorically pointed out that landed property shall not unnecessarily be brought to the hammer because it only fostered hatred against classes eventually leading to the emergence of the monied group at the cost of the indigenous proprietary body. In the same year it issued a circular prohibiting sale of lands to the

11. *Kaithal Assessment Report* (hereafter *A. R.*), 1891, p. 32.
12. Report on the Revised Settlement of the Momunds, *Selections from the Public Correspondence of the Administration for the Affairs of the Punjab*, II, p. 22.
13. *Dera Ghazi Khan S. R.*, 1874, p. 119.
14. While analysing the development of land market in Eastern India, Professor B. B. Chaudhuri pointed out that the formation of land market resulted from three sets of circumstances, one of which was the insistence on the part of the government on sales of defaulting zamindars' estates as a device towards ensuring the security of its revenue. (For details, see *IESHR*, XII, March 1976, p. 2). But in the context of the agrarian economy of the Punjab of the 1850s as we shall subsequently see, this view does not entirely hold good.

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'outsiders' and called for a stricter enforcement of the pre-emption laws on social and political grounds.¹⁵ In 1854 the Punjab Civil Code reiterated this principle while in 1856 the same rule was even extended to usufructuary mortgages.

Land prices also partly fell due to a general depression in the agrarian economy. From 1850 onwards everywhere the rural folk experienced an 'extraordinary' fall in the prices of foodgrains and it continued till the famine of 1860-61.¹⁶ Actually during the first three years following the annexation 'the harvests with a few isolated exceptions were remarkably favourable.' 'Cultivation was extended even on the *barani* lands'. There was 'so great an increase of produce as to reduce the prices of grain to an unprecedented extent.' The problem was aggravated because there was no railways to carry them to distant markets. Grain in consequence became a glut in the market. In 1851 and 1852 wheat fetched only one half as much as the average price of the five years before annexation.¹⁷

During these years the province experienced an acute form of silver scarcity. Under Sikh rule regular cash remittance of the *khalsa* to their home constituted a very important source of income of the

15. Circular No. 28 of 1852, dated May 3, 1852. *Circular Orders Issued by the Board of Administration in the Revenue Department during the years 1849 to 1853* (Calcutta, 1856), p. 165.

16. Jullundur A.R., p. 28; Montgomery S.R., 1878, p. 155; Muzaffargarh S.R., 1882, p. 110; Ludhiana S.R., 1884, Appendix, cii; Gujranwala S.R., 1893, p. 51.

17. James Douie, *Punjab Settlement Manual* (Lahore, 1899), p. 22. This fall in the prices may be traced as early as 1847 and the following table will illustrate the point.

Prices of wheat in maunds seers and chattaacks per rupee in Lahore from 1844 to 1851.

Year	Wheat in maunds, seers and chattaacks per rupee				
1	000.018		2		
1844	0	22	11 1/2		
1845	0	22	14		
1846	0	19	12		
1847	0	23	172		
1848	0	27	2.1/4		
1849	0	19	3		
1850	0	21	12		
1851	1	4	4.3/4		

Source : P. A. R., 1849-50 and 1850-51, Appendix A.

zamindars out of which they paid the state dues. 'Many a highly taxed village paid half its revenue from its military earnings. Thus money circulated freely.¹⁸ But after the annexation, the *khalsa* was summarily disbanded, it put an abrupt end to the cash remittance of the soldiers leading to scarcity of money in the countryside. The problem was further complicated by the fact that during these years the Indian portion of the army employed in the Punjab was largely Hindustani. A considerable share of the Punjab revenue was paid to them as their wages of which they spent a part in the Punjab and remitted the remainder to their homes. Many lakhs of rupees were thus annually drained from the Punjab.¹⁹ This large-scale depletion of silver led to a general depression in the land market in the 1850s.

These were the circumstances in which many districts witnessed the introduction of the summary settlements. These settlements also imposed a land revenue demand without any thorough enquiry into the rights and liabilities of the peasants proprietors and it went on increasing over the years.¹⁹ In some cases the problem was aggravated by seasons, bad *Tehseeldars* and bad managements.²⁰ But revenue continued to be realised, 'coercive measures were constantly adopted²¹ and revenue defaulters were often sent behind the bars. Proposals were even made to auction villages for arrears of revenue and they were even promptly given effect in a number of districts of the province. These sales did hardly suggest any improvement in the

18. Brij Narain, 'Eighty Years of the Punjab Food Prices, 1841-1920,' *Indian Journal of Economics*, VI, p. 23.

19. Land revenue demand of the East India Company

Year	Land revenue demand in £
1	2
1849-50	820,000
1850-51	1,018,502
1851-52	1,060,969
1856-57	1,485,000

Source: *P.A.R.*, 1849-50 and 1850-51, para 274; *Ibid.*, 1856-57 and 1857-58, para 67.

20. *Stalkot S. R.*, 1865, p. 57.

21. *Karnal-Ambala S. R.*, 1891, p. 18.

land value.²² They soon attracted the attention of the Financial Commissioner. He was 'convinced that these transfers arose from the undue pressure of the Government demand.' Accordingly when the regular settlements were introduced, settlement officers were particularly instructed to revise the demands of the 'over-assessed villages.'²³ Simultaneously orders were issued to reinstate the expropriated *zamindars* as far as practicable.²⁴

But the regular settlements sometimes generated a deep sense of insecurity among a considerable number of the peasant proprietors because of the official policy of resuming different categories of rent-free holdings on failure to provide any valid official document support-

22. Even in the late 1850s, land sold by the decree of court 'realized about two and a half years purchase of the yearly government demand' while 'that sold by private agreement, realised upwards of four years purchase.' R.R., 1858-59, p. 22.
23. Circular No. 9 of 1852, dated February 9, 1852, *Circular Orders Issued by the Board of Administration in the Revenue Department during the years 1849 to 1853*, p. 165.
24. In this connection a typical case study from the Gujranwala district will illustrate the point. During the early 1850s a considerable number of cultivable holdings of this district were put under the hammer because of the recusancy of a considerable number of *zamindars*. They expressed, as wrote the settlement officer, 'a remarkable distaste to fixed assessments,' sometimes 'they would say that they would renounce their proprietorship rather than engage for any fixed assessment.' Such cases of recusancy were sternly dealt with by the settlement officers, they often transferred their shares to more solvent shareholders or to the highest bidders. In the Gujranwala tahsil 15 estates wholly and 2 estates partly were transferred to the outsiders, in Wazirabad the transfer covered one whole estate; in Hafizabad one-third of two, one-fourth of two and one-sixth of three estates were alienated. - In additions to these alienations, nearly another 14,000 acres were sold in this district. In most cases the old owners, owing to either poverty or the pressure of the revenue demand, were forced to transfer their holdings.

But these rapid transfers of holdings received strong criticism from the Punjab Board of Administration. The government made quick efforts to undo the wrongs done to the old owners and steps were taken to annul those transfers made on grounds of arrears of governmental demand. These measures were generally successful, except in cases where whole estates had been transferred 'to wealthy capitalists like the Diwans of Eminabad and the Sardars of Batala who claimed to hold on the ground that they had spent on the property.' For details, see *Gujranwala S.R.*, 1874, p. 33; *Gujranwala District Gazetteer*, 1893-94, p. 147.

ing their rightful claims. It was argued that since the Sikhs were 'too liberal and profuse in granting concessions' to their own kinsmen, these grants were frequently abused and caused a great loss to the state exchequer. In 1851 the Board confidently asserted in its annual report that within a generation the gradual resumption of these holdings would yield an extra revenue of 30 lakhs of rupees (nearly one-fourth of the total provincial revenue).²⁵ Accordingly the regular settlement of 1852 unleashed a policy of 'relentless attachment' of the *mafi* holdings in the *parganas* of Hoshiarpur, Garhshankar, Una and Hariana. It was estimated that out of 6,705 disputed cases 3,875 (57.8 per cent.) were released and 2,830 (42.2 per cent.) were resumed. Again out of these 3,875 cases, 46 per cent. were released for one generation only.²⁶ In Ambala, however, these investigations generated so much of a bitter feeling among the shareholders that nearly 65 per cent. of the *mafi* holdings had to be restored to their original owners.²⁷ But in Narowal 'those villages which have a large proportion of rent-free land were the most heavily assessed.'²⁸

This large-scale resumption of rent free holdings in different districts of the province greatly exasperated those who were deprived of their privileged social status. It was not merely a loss of social prestige in the eyes of their kinsmen but also an economic blow because they were called upon to pay an additional land revenue in cash which was not readily available in the countryside. Naturally they 'dreaded this new economic burden attendant thereon' and thereby these holdings lost much of their attractiveness and emotional attachment.

III

Land prices, however, showed 'a marked upward tendency' from the early 1860s. During these years the province witnessed the development of modern means of communications like the railways²⁹ and the macadamized roads.³⁰ They introduced a faster movement of

25. P.A.R., 1849-50 and 1850-51, para 412.

26. Hoshiarpur S.R., 1852, Appendix No. XI.

27. Ambala S.R., 1859, p. 75.

28. Amritsar S.R., 1860, p. 171.

29. For details, see H. Banerjee, *Agrarian Society of the Punjab, 1849-1901* (New Delhi, 1982), Chapter III.

30. K.M. Sarkar, *The Grand Trunk Road in the Punjab* (Languages Department, Patiala, 1971), pp. 1-12.

various agricultural commodities at a cheaper rate and led to a greater equalization of prices in the different markets of the province. They equally assured an easy access to the previously inaccessible areas and opened out new markets for the Punjab.³¹ They also resulted in the extension of cultivation of certain commercial crops.³²

Incidentally the opening out of the different markets also coincided with a steady expansion in the circulation of money in the province. Already the beginning of the Mutiny had made possible a large-scale employment of the Punjabis in the Company's army in the Punjab while many thousands were sent outside the province. These men not only remitted their savings but also sent 'quantities of prize property and plunder, the spoils of Hindustan, to their native villages.' Its effect was perceptible in 'a free circulation of money.' It was followed by a general cotton famine in the mills of Lancashire which resulted in a sudden expansion of cotton trade in the Punjab. It continued for nearly five years and 'many obscure traders' joined in the venture and invested their 'borrowed capital.' Some of them were even found 'going about from village to village purchasing every *seer* they can procure, at prices not heretofore thought of.'³³ From Shahpur the settlement officer reported that 'a large influx of silver from Europe'³⁴ led to a steady rise in the prices. In Karnal also a similar development did not escape the watchful eyes of the settlement officer.³⁵

These years also witnessed the first instalment of official investment in the different irrigational projects.³⁶ The canals stimulated the cultivation of wheat, cotton, sugarcane and oil-seeds often replacing the pre-canal inferior cereals like *jowar* and *bajra*. They also made possible a large-scale reclamation of waste lands and generated a keen competition for the acquisition of 'a few aeres of canal-irrigated holdings among the peasantry.' Further, the canals also increased the average yield per acre and according to an estimate of the present

31. G.S. Khosla, 'The Growth of the Railway System in the Punjab,' N. Gerald Barrier and Harbans Singh (Eds.), *Essays in Honour of Dr Ganda Singh* (Patiala, 1976), pp. 283-90.

32. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

33. *R.R.*, 1862-63, p. 44.

34. *Shahpur S.R.*, 1866, p. 89.

35. *Karnal S.R.*, 1883, p. 283.

36. For details, see W. Paustian, *The Canal Irrigation in the Punjab* (New York, 1930), pp. 21-74.

century, productivity of an *acre* of irrigated land was larger by 20 to 300 per cent. than that of an *acre* of unirrigated land. The blessings of the canals were also evident from the flourishing trade in agricultural produce and the rising price of land in the different districts of the province.

This increased price of land made it an object of safe investment and purchasers of such land seldom ran any risk of losing their money, and could easily resale them, if they so intended, often with a clear margin of profit. Such cases of sales had been reported by many district officers of this period.³⁶ Further land purchase was socially attractive to the purchasers, particularly when they were mere *sahukars* because of the prestige it would confer. Moreover, with the increasing cultivation of certain commercial crops, different rural credit groups developed a keen interest about landed estates. They believed that control over land would offer a better opportunity of investing their savings which they had already accumulated from trade and other channels; besides it would ensure an additional security in carrying on their commercial pursuits.

This steady rise in the land value was also partly due to a general demographic rise. It led to a 'continual movement' of population in search of lands. Evidently, the construction numerous perennial and inundation canals in different districts stimulated the process. In the densely populated central and submontane districts, in the context of a limited scope for new cultivation and the lack of alternative opportunity for the use of *zamindars* labour and capital, there developed an increasing demand for land. During these years this demand tended to increase with the opening out of the canals in the central *bar* lands. The government also agreed to colonise this tract by selecting the colonists from these districts. Accordingly there took place a large-scale migration of the peasant population to the different canal colonies. Simultaneously in the dry south-eastern districts like

37. Here also a typical case study from the Gujranwala district may be taken up. In the 1850s Gujranwala witnessed a largescale desertion of the peasant proprietors and consequent transfer of land at a nominal price. But in the 1860s land value rose and the following extracts from the annual revenue report will illustrate the point :

'In Goojranwala, a *rukh* which was sold by auction on account of the original purchaser having died before completion of the purchase. On the first sale the price obtained was Rs. 6, 000, when resold last year the sum realized was Rs. 12,000.' *R. R.*, 1866-67, p. 142.

Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar and Gurgaon, rural population was found migrating to more secure and fertile regions, free from famine and drought effects. In the western frontier districts also this search for land persisted throughout this period. Here the abundance of waste, absence of fatal diseases, a higher birth rate among the Muslims (who constituted the predominant section of population in these districts), restoration of law and order, and improvement in the means of communication encouraged rural population to emigrate. But the most significant development occurred in the Chenab Canal Colony towards the close of the century. With the opening out of the Chenab Canal, a large-scale migration of peasant population took place leading to a significant rise in the land value.³⁸

This steady rise in the land value was also largely due to a slow but definite change in the land revenue policy of the government. During the mid 1850s the Punjab Government gradually came to the realization that the summary settlements were 'extremely harsh' and they were concluded very 'hastily without any proper enquiry into the economic condition of the peasant proprietors.' The government made it a point to reduce these high revenue demands and by 1856 the total reduction amounted to nearly 25 per cent. Incidentally during these years the summary settlements were steadily replaced by the regular settlements. They were introduced on the basis of certain 'general considerations' such as a careful enquiry into the resources and past history of the estates which had governed the assessment procedure in the North-Western Provinces. Simultaneously, these settlements also prepared a fixed record of rights for the proprietors which the summary settlements of the early 1850s did not accomplish.³⁹ The fixity of tenure as well as the moderation of demand greatly raised the credit-worthiness of the agricultural holdings and the Financial Commissioner in his annual revenue report did not fail to take note of it.⁴⁰

38. See Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

39. James Douie, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

40. The Financial Commissioner thus confidently wrote in 1862-63 : '...the value of land is steadily rising ; the area of land transferred, whether compulsorily or by private sale, being smaller than during the year preceeding; while the average price obtained has been higher in each description of transfer. A more complete refutation could hardly be desired than that which it affords,

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The sale statistics of this period also tend to confirm this view. At the annexation land was sold by private agreement at 6 times the government *jama* which rose to 82 in 1862-63. Simultaneously the mortgage price rose and in 1862-63 it stood at 7 times the governmental demand. 'In most districts there was a steady rise in the prices realized for land, more especially in those rich and populous districts' where there was 'little available waste, among which may be instanced, Loodhiana, Jullundur, Hooshyarpur and Amritsar.'⁴¹

In the meantime a gradual change took place in the attitude of the senior officials about alienation of proprietary holdings. The firm conviction of the 1850s greatly mellowed down and it often gave rise to a serious doubt about the 'protective policy' so vigorously pursued in the post-annexation period.⁴² Even the steps already taken up by the districts officials of Thaneswar (Karnal) prohibiting alienation of holdings were criticised as 'a kind but mistaken policy.' It also occurred to many of them that the 'protectionist policy,' instead of conferring any positive benefits, was causing an immense hardship to the rural-folk. It discouraged free investment of capital and retarded the quick pace of development of the countryside. But the rural upliftment badly needed a large-scale investment of capital which the government could not alone undertake. This steady rise in the land value, these officers argued, indicated a natural and healthy process. It was the logical result of the 'creation' of private property right in the landed estates under British rule which the government should try to protect and foster for the best interest of the agrarian community of the province.

'The most striking result is...the continued rise in the price of land. There can be no doubt that the security which the blessings of God has given to our rule, has created a most wonderful amount of capital by making that a goodly heritage

of the impression entertained in some quarters, that the demand of Government is so ruinously high as to render land comparatively valueless...' *R.R., 1862-63*, p. 135.

41. *Ibid.*, 1866-67, p. 142.

42. Arthur Brandreth, the Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej division, for example, pointed out:

'I am not sure, however, whether interference of this sort is altogether politic, where a man cannot derive any adequate profit from his land it is better that he should resign it...' *Ibid.*, 1860-61, p. 34.

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which was formerly little better than an encumbrance...men are now eager to take advantage of the most frail title to land... This triumph of peace and justice is one of the brightest ornaments to our rule in India.⁴³

On the other hand, any interference in this healthy process would make capital 'shy' and even may lead to many disquieting results. It was, therefore, pointed out that since the pre-emption laws often depressed the land value and discouraged the capitalists from making any improvements in the techniques of cultivation, it should not be strictly enforced. Thus, Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Jullundur division, bitterly denounced the pre-emption laws and held them solely responsible for a general depression in the land market of the province.⁴⁴ His views were strongly endorsed by the Financial Commissioner, Lord Lake. In his note to the government, he also pointed out the injurious effects of the existing pre-emption laws.⁴⁵ Finally, in 1868 the Chief Court, Punjab, declared that these pre-emption laws would no longer be applicable to the mortgages and the Punjab Government eventually accepted this decision. This withdrawal of the pre-emption regulations in matters of mortgages definitely suggests that the government had taken a long stride since the days of the protectionist measures of the early 1850s.⁴⁶

IV

Table 1

**Land value in the Punjab (multiple or *jama*)
from 1861-62 to 1900-01.**

Year	Land value
1	2
1861-62	6.9
1862-63	8.2
1863-64	8.4
1864-65	11.4

43. *Ibid.*, 1862-63, p. 169.

44. *Ibid.*, 1866-67, p. 47.

45. *Ibid.*

46. For details, see P.H.M. Van den Dungen, *The Punjab Tradition* (London, 1972), Chapter II.

1865-66	13.6
1866-67	13.8
1867-68	17.8
1868-69	19.9
1869-70	20.4
1870-71	24.4
1871-72	21.5
1872-73	23.5
1873-74	22.5
1874-75	29.4
1875-76	33.1
1876-77	23.9
1877-78	25.4
1878-79	26.2
1879-80	30.4
1880-81	33.8
1881-82	37.6
1882-83	36.4
1883-84	41.1
1884-85	37.0
1885-86	38.3
1886-87	37.7
1887-88	43.4
1888-89	46.7
1889-90	53.8
1890-91	51.8
1891-92	55.0
1892-93	64.7
1893-94	61.3
1894-95	64.4
1895-96	59.3
1896-97	67.5
1897-98	71.7
1898-99	73.2
1899-1900	80.4
1900-01	91.8

Source : R.R. for the respective years.

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The above table indicates that land value more or less steadily increased over the years. A decadewise linear growth rate break up of these 40 years would also suggest that the land value increased at a faster rate in the 1890s and the reasons were the following.

During the 1890s the Punjab witnessed quite a significant development of her export trade and the cultivation of wheat and in some cases cotton penetrated deep into the heart of the province.⁴⁷ The crop statistics of this period also suggest that wheat became extremely popular in the districts of Ferozepore, Ludhiana, Shahpur and Multan. Similarly, the acreage under cotton increased in some parts of the canal-irrigated districts of central and south-western Punjab. Land value also rose due to the opening of the Lower Chenab Canal Colony in the central *bar* lands (1892) and the consequent search for their acquisition, devaluation of the silver currency standard (1894), frequent famines and scarcities (1896-97, 1897-98 and 1898-99), and finally, the widespread rumour about the effects of the alienation provisions and the consequent 'feverish activity of the creditors to secure their debts and complete their title to lands before the coming into force of the Land Alienation Act'.⁴⁸ This price hike was further stimulated by the failure of the numerous indigenous banks and the resultant diversion of a sizable amount of money seeking investment in the countryside.⁴⁹

During the period under review, the land value, however, declined on 9 years. It experienced the most striking decline in 1876-77 when it amounted to nearly 9.30 per cent. from that of its preceeding year. But this fall was more apparent than a real one because in a number of districts the arrear mutation works of the previous years were included in the alienation statement of the present year. 'This inference is borne out by the fact that in the Peshawar district where the mutation work was most in arrear and was brought up during the year, the number, area and value of sales reported last year was very small, whereas this year it is 30 times as great'.⁵⁰ Further, out of these 9 years, this decline in the land value also coincided with the fall in the prices of wheat on 6 years,⁵¹ namely, 1871-72, 1873-74, 1876-77, 1882-83,

47. Annual linear growth rate were 0.6 per cent. for wheat and 0.8 per cent. for cotton. *R.R., 1861-62 to 1900-01*, Statement VI.

48. *Ibid.*, 1900-01, p. 12.

49. *Ibid.*, 1897-98, p. 21.

50. *Ibid.*, 1876-77, paras 204, 205.

51. During these 40 years (1861-62 to 1900-01) a further close relationship between the land value and the wheat price can be indicated. In 23 out of 39 years (58.98 per cent.) wheat price and the land value rose and declined almost simultaneously.

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1884-85 and 1893-94. In the remaining 3 years, land value and wheat prices moved in the opposite direction and it was particularly noticeable in 1895-96 when the land value was overwhelmingly depressed by the sale of a sizable number of the crown wastes in the districts of Multan and Montgomery.⁵²

V

These changes in the land value may again be studied in the context of the regional variations of the provincial agrarian economy. Here 10 districts have been selected (out of the total 31 districts) taking atleast one from each of the different geographical division of the province :⁵³ Rohtak, Karnal, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Sialkot, Lahore, Shahpur, Ferozepore, Montgomery and Peshawar. Of these 5 districts, namely, Shahpur, Ferozepore, Hoshiarpur, Lahore and Jullundur enjoyed a higher than average annual all Punjab land value and they generally came from the central Punjab and its adjoining region where the extension of well and canal irrigation, widespread cultivation of valuable commercial staples like wheat and cotton, better communication facilities, freedom from drought and famine effects, absence of waste land, preponderance of the Jat peasantry made the land market sufficiently brisk during the period under review. Besides three of

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sly while there was a dissimilarity between them on 16 occasions (41.02 per cent). However, the land value rose at a faster rate than the wheat price during these years. The following table will point out a linear trend growth of this period.

Changes in land value and wheat price from 1861-62 to 1900-01 ($\log Y = a + bt$)

Period	Land value	Wheat price
1	2	3
1861-62 to 1870-71	11.6	5.9
1871-72 to 1880-81	2.3	4.7
1880-81 to 1890-91	3.9	-4.8
1891-92 to 1900-01	4.2	2.1
1861-62 to 1900-01	5.3	1.1

Source : R. R. for the respective years.

52. R. R. 1895-96, p. 29.

53. In this regard the physical divisions as suggested by Darling has been followed. For details, see M. L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (New Delhi, 1977), pp. 23-4.

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them enjoyed a higher than all Punjab linear trend land value rise, namely, Shahpur, Ferozepore and Hoshiarpur while Jullundur and Lahore closely followed them.⁵⁴

Table 2-

Average annual land value in 10 districts of the province from 1861-62 to 1900-01.

Name	Average annual land value (multiple of <i>jama</i>)
Ferozepore	52.62
Shahpur	41.00
Lahore	52.48
Jullundur	40.06
Sialkot	25.35
Hoshiarpur	36.06
Rohtak	23.59
Karnal	23.74
Peshawar	19.25
Punjab	30.27

Source : R. R. for the respective years.

In Shahpur this rise in the land value was mainly the legacy of the opening of the canals during the period under review. Prior to it, Shahpur was a sparsely populated tract and its cultivation was confined around the river beds protected by the *sailab*. Land value was unusually low and the proprietors of the upland area often deserted their holdings in times of drought and scarcity. But the cotton boom

54. Changes in the average land value (linear trend) in the five districts of the Punjab from 1861-62 to 1900-01 ($\log Y = a + bt$)

District	1861-62 to 1870-71	1871-72 to 1880-81	1881-82 to 1890-91	1891-92 to 1900-01	1861-92 to 1900-01
Shahpur	18.5	9.4	0.06	8.7	6.18
Ferozepore	21.5	4.02	-0.13	5.44	5.87
Hoshiarpur	11.65	-1.76	4.03	3.03	5.49
Lahore	8.3	1.3	1.6	4.5	5.03
Jullundur	15.10	2.44	-1.49	6.51	4.56

Source : R. R., 1861-62 to 1900-01, Statement X.

of the early 1860s pushed up the land value that persisted till the late 1860s. In the 1870s the Shahpur inundation canals were ready while the possibility of the opening out of a perennial canal from the Chenab resulted in a brisk land transfer in the 1890s.⁵⁵ Canal irrigation increased the value of land and stimulated the cultivation of superior cereals. Wheat and cotton gradually became so popular that they recorded an annual increase of 1.1 per cent. and 2.5 per cent. respectively (1871-72 to 1900-01).⁵⁶

Like Shahpur, Ferozepore was a scantily peopled area on the eve of British rule in the province. It was then a 'dreary and desert plain where' 'an almost continued duststorm was the normal state of atmosphere.' But the Sarhind Canal gradually improved the situation; it brought a 'comparative affluence to a large number of population previously leading a hand-to-mouth existence' and encouraged a large-scale emigration of population from the neighbouring districts and the Native States. Ferozepore was predominantly inhabited by the Jats who represented 'the most thriving agricultural community in the whole Punjab.' With the development of a brisk trade in wheat, they took to it as well as its cultivation and gradually made themselves free from the trammels of the *banias*. They controlled the money-lending business in the Moga tahsil and frequently mortgaged, redeemed and remortgaged their holdings for satisfying their short-term needs. Many of their kinsmen were in the army and their remittance was invested in land. All these developments pushed up the land value and its chief beneficiaries were the sturdy Jats at the cost of weaker Dogars, Gujars and Rajputs.⁵⁷

55. The table in note 54 indicates that the decadal linear growth rate reached the lowest point in the decade 1881-82 to 1890-91. During this period land prices fell on 5 occasions and the agriculturists were exhausted by a series of bad harvests; in 1886-87 alone the number of sales increased by 100 per cent. from that of its immediate preceding year. The settlement officer found the *zamindars* were so overwhelmed by continual loans contracted at exorbitant interest that they were 'compelled to alienate lands in order to satisfy the money-lenders' demands or raise money for their maintenance.' According to him 'in this single year, more sales and mortgages took place in any five years period from 1865-85.' Some of the chief Muhammadan landlords in the district, especially the Tiwanas acquired a considerable area. *Extracts from the Annual Land Revenue Administration Report* (hereafter *E.R.R.*), 1886-87, pp. 25-6.

56. *R.R., 1871-72 to 1900-01*, Statement VI.

57. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.

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Unlike Ferozepore, Hoshiarpur was one of the most populous and widely cultivated districts at the outset of British rule in the province. The *zamindars* predominantly came from the enterprising Jats and the inefficient Rajputs. The former were mainly found in the rich Garhshankar and Hoshiarpur tahsils while the latter in the Una, Dasuya and the rest of Hoshiarpur tahsil. It was a small peasant proprietary tract and the demand for land was a recurrent problem; it led to steady fragmentation of holdings and stimulated the land value. According to the report of the settlement officer, the land market became sufficiently brisk in the 1870s when the value of land gradually 'began to be appreciated, and the every-day increasing security of life and property encouraged money-lenders to invest money in land transactions.' The annual land revenue statistics, however, suggest that land value declined on more than four occasions during these years and it particularly affected the Dasuya tahsil. But the land prices were comparatively higher in the prosperous Sirwal circles of Garhshankar and Hoshiarpur tahsils due to the preponderance of the Jat peasantry who often 'kept the question of comparative profits out of consideration' and bought 'certain lands in their own villages at any cost.' During the period following the revised settlement also land prices in the Garhshankar and Hoshiarpur tahsils continued to rise at a faster rate and by the end of the century it rose to 89.9 per cent. in Hoshiarpur, 80.6 per cent. in Garhshankar and 25.3 per cent. in Dasuya⁵⁸ since the settlement in the 1880s.

Like other districts of the province, Lahore shared the vicissitudes of the early summary settlement introduced on the basis of the Sikh *darbar* records. But with the opening out of the Bari Doab Canal (1861) the condition of the district gradually changed. The canal

58. In Dasuya, frequent outbreak of malaria, miserable plight of the *zamindars* along the *bet*, inferiority of the soil partly accounted for a lower rate of land prices. But in Garhshankar and Hoshiarpur, the settlement officer noticed an acute demand for land as well as the greater prevalence of the commercial crops. Further the frugal, enterprising peasantry of this tract were not entirely dependent on agriculture for its livelihood and its 'resources were added by those of their number who sought service, military or civil, in their own country, or wander further afield across the seas.' The purchasers 'are in many cases returned emigrants and travellers, and we are told that it is to their keenness to acquire land that the fancy prices are realized by sale are due.' For details, see *Dasuya A.R. 1882*, p. 9; *Ibid.*, 1913, pp. 18-9; *Hoshiarpur A.R.*, 1913, p. 13; F.C.'s review, *Garhshankar A.R.*, 1913, pp. 2, 16.

brought in its train a rapid extension of cultivation over the waste and increased the resources of the husbandmen. It also led to a keen competition for tenancies on canal-irrigated land' because the newly broken up soil in the Majha was 'quite as good as the old.' The enterprising Jats, who held nearly the three-fourths of the Majha and the two-thirds of the whole districts, were not slow to take advantage of this benefit. They brought more lands under valuable crops and the cultivation of wheat and cotton increased strikingly during the inter-settlement period. They also amassed a considerable amount of wealth by cultivating their canal-irrigated holdings and maintained hold over the money-lenders. Further in the tract around the Lahore city and the civil station, an excellent market for special articles of produce, such as potatoes, vegetables and tobacco gradually grew up. The Arains held the bulk of the proprietary holdings and successfully pushed the cultivation of tobacco and vegetables beyond its economic limit.⁵⁹

At the settlement of 1851 Jullundur with regular rainfall and enterprising band of peasantry was so widely cultivated that there was only a small area of cultivable waste left to be brought under the plough.⁶⁰ Land was in great demand and a few cases of alienation of holdings occurred even as early as 1848⁶¹ and in the 1870s Jullundur was regarded to be the most highly valued area of the province.⁶² The revised settlement recorded a further improvement in the land value.⁶³

59. While such significant developments pushed up the land value in the Majha area, the Sharakpur villages continued to suffer from the capricious rainfall, infertile soil and finally the larger number of holdings than the owners could cultivate themselves. Here the 'accumulation of property in the hands of a few' was so detrimental to cultivation that the tenants often refused to take up the land unless they were 'first subsidised by large advances for the purchase of bullocks and seed, and then as often as not abscond, leaving the crop unharvested.' In Sharakpur, therefore, land prices did not rise so rapidly and the land value in this tahsil generally operated as a pull factor in the district level land value throughout the period. For details, see *Lahore S.R.*, 1893, pp. 25-7. *Sharakpur A.R.*, 1893, pp. 4,5,373, K.W. dated 6th March 1893, p. 2.

60. Jullunduir S.R., 1851, *Parliamentary Papers*, XLIX, p. 439.

61. Tom G. Kessinger, *Vilayatpur, 1848-1968* (California, 1974), p. 133.

62. *R.R.*, 1871-72, p. 78; *Ibid.*, 1872-73, p. 39.

63. At the settlement of the 1880s land value stood at 47 years' assessment while in the early 1850s it stood at 7 times the *jama*. *Jullundur A.R.*, 1883, p. 11; *Jullundur S.R.*, 1892, p. 1.

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During the inter-settlement period (1851-1881), there was, however, only a nominal change in the size of cultivation (4½ per cent.). But the 'most noticeable' improvement occurred in the extension of irrigation from wells⁶⁴ which had a far reaching impact on the agrarian economy. With the development of irrigation from wells, emphasis tended to shift from extensive to intensive cultivation around well lands. It whipped up the cultivation of cash crops like pepper, cotton, tobacco, *chari* and vegetables and stimulated the process of consolidation of holdings by means of mutual exchange among the *zamindars*.⁶⁵

While these developments improved the resources of the peasantry, many of them also received a regular remittance from their brethren employed in the army or in other services in the distant countries. A high rate of inflow of capital pushed up the land value and often made the peasantry largely free from the 'dictates' of the professional money-lenders. The land alienation statistics of this period also suggested, commented the settlement officer in the present century, the people were businesslike in their transactions and the prosperity of the district was equally evident 'in the number of new wells sunk and the number of cattle purchased and *pakka* houses built.'⁶⁶

VI

The table 2 also indicates that the remaining five districts, namely, Rohtak, Karnal, Sialkot, Montgomery and Peshawar enjoyed a lower than average all Punjab land value during the period under review. In the south-eastern districts, for example, land market was comparatively dull and the land value was generally low, except for the last few years of the 19th century. Here recurrent famines, insecurity of cultivation, big size of holdings, low rate of yield, scarcity of population, a definite bias in favour of inferior cereals largely explained a lower rate of land value. In Karnal, the problem was aggravated by the water-logged villages along the Western Jumna Canal.⁶⁷ In Rohtak

64. Here the popularity of well-irrigation may be judged from the fact that the irrigated area between the regular (1851) and the revised settlements (1885) increased at an average rate of 2,000 acres annually. It was estimated that nearly 40 lakhs of rupees were spent during this period on the construction of wells. For details, see *Jullundur D.G.*, 1883-84, p. 43; *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 202; *Jullundur S.R.*, 1892, pp. 105-07.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 107; CR Jullundur division's review, 23 November 1917, *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 3.

66. *Jullundur A.R.*, 1913, p. 13; *Phillaur A.R.*, 1913, p. 14.

67. *India Selections*, P.W.D., XLII, p. 1.

also frequency of famines dominated the rural scene and greatly crippled the resources of the peasantry. With 11 per cent. of the total area protected by wells and canals, its *barani* lands did not appear to be a lucrative form of investment to the *banias*; they often refused credit in times of drought and scarcity. This restricted form of credit facility had a dwarfing effect on the land market and it is further evident from the following remarks of the settlement officer in the late 1870s:⁶⁸

'The area which has been sold since last settlement is only 1.25 per cent. of the cultivated area while the area under mortgage is only 5 per cent. ; even this figure is above the normal statistics of things and has been brought about by the drought of 1877-78.'

Actually the insecurity of cultivation (primarily due to lack of official investment in the major public work which a number of central Punjab districts witnessed during the period under review) prevented Rohtak from attaining a high standard of cultivation and the tract was also marginally affected by the commercialization of agriculture. The crop statistics also pointed out that the acreages under wheat and cotton steadily declined while the inferior cereals like *jowar* and *bajra* gradually increased over the years. In Karnal also *jowar* and *bajra* were equally popular and they showed an upward trend sometimes at a faster rate than that of the populous districts like Jullunder and Hoshiarpur.

Like the south-eastern districts of the province, Sialkot was, however, never seriously exposed to scarcity and famine. With an abundance of *abi* lands, cultivation was steadily extended to its utmost limit, though the newly broken soil, in the opinion of the settlement officer, was 'markedly inferior' to that of the older one. 'More densely populated than any other district save one, it had less cultivated area than nine districts' and its average size of holdings was so small that the *zamindars* could hardly fight out the *ayaldari* problem.⁶⁹ Further the deluging rains invited water-logging and malaria and, according to an estimate of the district officer, in 1890 alone the death rate from malaria exceeded the average mortality rate of the previous five years.⁷⁰ It made the peasantry including even the sturdy Jats half demoralized

68. Rohtak S.R., 1879, p. 6.

69. Darling, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

70. Report on the Sanitary Administration of the Punjab, 1890, p. 4.

and labourers had to be imported to cut the harvest. It was somewhat strange that it did not witness any large-scale immigration to the distant lands and the consequent inflow of remittance in the countryside which pushed the land value in the adjoining Hoshiarpur and Garhshankar tahsils.

In the 1890s, however, with the opening out of the Chenab Canal, Sialkot sent the largest number of colonists to Chenab Colony. It also coincided with a steady rise in the land value and the annual sale statistics indicated that the average land value in the 1890s was higher by 26.12 per cent. from that of the 1880s. But the settlement report of the present century pointed out that the land value did not rise to that extent in the last decade of the 19th century because while migrating to the canal colonies many *zamindars* sold away or mortgaged their holdings thereby bringing in a large amount of land in the market. This might have led to a temporary glut in the market and this is borne out by the evidence furnished in the assessment report of the present century :⁷¹

So much importance is attached to a rise in the value of land as a justification of the enhancement of land revenue that this matter calls for close examination. It is true that by 1894-99 emigration to the Lower Chenab Colony was in full swing and the demand for money on the part of emigrant cultivators largely increased. It does not seem likely that this circumstance would raise prices. On the contrary—by all theories—the tendency should have been in the opposite direction.

Like Sialkot, Montgomery was not a densely populated tract. Here land value did not rise above the all Punjab level due to factors somewhat different from those of Sialkot. With an abundance of waste, insecurity of cultivation, migratory nature of the tenants, disproportionate heavy demand on the well-irrigated holdings, want of sufficient remissions on crop failure and the official policy of granting short-term leases as well as the sale of the crown estates at a nominal rate made the Montgomery land market dull and depressing during the period. *Sailab* from the Ravi which in normal years constituted the mainstay of cultivation in Gugera and Montgomery tahsils, often failed and it placed the *zamindars* under extreme difficulty.

71. H. J. Maynard, CR Lahore division's review, *Zafarwal A.R.*, 1915, p. 2.

They had to offer liberal advances to their tenants to keep them tied to their holdings. Here the pattern of cultivation was so much of a precarious nature that the money-lenders found little interest in acquiring these lands. In Pakpattan also the creditors did not consider them a safe investment because they 'would not see their way to profit.' Except the Dipalpur tahsil which was partly protected by inundation canals, this district did not witness any significant improvement and the settlement officers repeatedly referred to its depressed condition during the inter-settlement period (1878-98). With the opening out of the Chenab Canal in the adjoining districts, the condition of the tract further deteriorated; tenants as well as the proprietors often deserted their *sailab* villages and there not even a barking dog could be seen.⁷²

In Peshawar land prices were unusually low during the early years of British rule. Here the *zamindars* 'derived little or no benefits' by cultivating their bigger holdings. Further the cultivation was 'more or less spasmodic' and the cultivated area was 'in excess of the number of effective cultivators.'⁷³ In some cases again land prices were pulled down by the fierce tribalism of the warlike Muslim tribes; the purchaser often had to buy lands 'at the risk of his life.' But from the late 1870s land value rose because of the Kabul campaign. In the 1880s the district continued to witness an 'increasing prosperity from the influx of money and occupation during the Afghan War, the introduction of the railways, the opening of the Swat Canal in Hastanagar and Mardan in 1885 and the development of peace and security in the valley.' These developments resulted in a largescale land transfers and the Muslim *parachas* and the Hindu *kirars* occupied the bulk of these holdings. The settlement officers, however, did not report any spectacular rise in land value except in the Sholcira circle of the Charssada tahsil⁷⁴

72. *Montgomery S.R.*, 1878, p. 163, 168, 169; *R.R.* 1882-83, p. 18; *E.R.R.* 1886-87, p. 22; *Ibid.*, 1889-90, p. 8; *E.R.R.*, 1895-96, p. 29.

73. *Charsadda A.R.*, 1895, pp. 19, 28.

74. While explaining the low rate of land prices, the settlement officer pointed out :

Sales are more numerous in the *maira* and *nahri* circles owing to the fact that before and even after the opening of the canal, the smaller proprietors, while anxious to hold on to their Sholgira lands, were only too ready to part with their rights in the Maria from which, owing to the fact that the whole tract had been managed by the leading Khans for their own advantage [they] absorbed nearly the whole of the profits of cultivation

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or *Chahinahri* circle of the Nowshera tahsil.⁷⁵

VII

This steady rise in the land value in the Punjab during the period under review suggests an uneven regional development of the agrarian economy of the province. Districts like Rohtak, Karnal, Montgomery and Peshawar with a lower than average annual provincial land value constituted economically somewhat a poorer tract. They were frequently exposed to uncertainties of nature and marginally affected by the commercialization of agriculture. Here cultivation mainly depended on either precarious rainfall or uncertain *sailab* or the inundation canals. These districts formed something like an outer ring around the central Punjab and operated as a *pull* factor at the all Punjab level growth rate level. But the districts like Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore, Jullundur, Gujranwala and Lahore representing a higher commercialized zone, witnessed the emergence of a brisk land market. They were predominantly a secure area with a finer set of peasantry, enjoying all the benefits of artificial irrigation from either wells or canals. These sub-montane and central districts with a higher than average all Punjab land value represented a prosperous tract of the provincial agrarian economy.

This steady rise in the land value is again closely associated with the emergence of a rich peasantry in the countryside. In some of the central Punjab districts they were very much in existence long before they were officially recognised in the revenue literature of this period. They largely arose out of these thrifty *zamindars* who had already accumulated sufficient surplus out of money-lending, trade employment in the army or emigration to the distant countries. With the rise in the land value, they extended credit to the *zamindars* with the object of

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when the land was broken up in a year of good rainfall', the other sharers had reaped little or no benefit. Speculative capitalists were not slow to grasp the opportunity, and in the large *nahri* circle 28 per cent. has been sold at an average price of only Rs. 18 per acre, though most, if not all, of the area sold is commanded by the Swat Canal. Of this area no less than 69 per cent. has gone to a few outsiders, and 53 such persons have purchased 1,499 acres at an average cost per acre of Rs. 16...On the whole prices of irrigated land run rather low...' *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1.

75. In the Nowshera tahsil prices were 'naturally lower' because of the sale of the 'larger unirrigated areas in the Kohi Khattak and Kinara Darya circles.' For details, see *Peshawar and Nowshera A.R.*, 1895, pp. 47, 62.

getting possession of their holdings. They generally exacted a higher rate of interest than that of the *sahukars*, exempted 'not even a pebble' (*gitti*) and frequently kept them at bay. Simultaneously, with the development of a brisk export trade, they acquired the art of marketing produce at the post harvest period and sold their surplus independently of the *sahukars* and plied their carts straight to the local *mandi*. In the present century, when the professional money-lenders were officially debarred from acquiring the lands of the *zamindars*, they fully exploited the situation to their favour and dominated the land market of the province. Many of them showed a keen interest in the selection of the seeds of the high yielding varieties of wheat and cotton (for example, 8A, Punjab 11, 4F and 284F) while they were no less an enthusiastic admirer of the costlier labour saving implements and often utilised the co-operative movement to the best of their advantages. Their standard of cultivation was equally of a high order and it did not escape the vigilant eyes of the settlement officers of this period.

But those who lost their lands by sale generally had little prospect of re-purchasing similar types of lands at a higher price. An obvious consequence would be a large-scale displacement of the indigenous *zamindars* from their ancestral holdings. Even where the dispossessed *zamindars* continued to cultivate their transferred holdings, the conditions under which they had to work were substantially altered as a consequence of these transfers. They were often reduced to the position of a mere tenant, stripped of all the necessary status and privilege usually enjoyed by a *zamindars*. They were often compelled to pay a higher rate of rent. Thorburu's enquiry in three districts of the province throws important light on the altered position of the *zamindars* as a result of land transfer. His findings pointed out that it had a depressing effect and stimulated the process of concentration of capital in the hands of a limited number of *zamindars*.

Finally, it has recently been argued that the huge amount of money spent in the land purchase suggested 'a loss of capital to production' since 'the returns from land did not increase in proportion to the increase in the price of land'. It, therefore, meant a 'form of hoarding' in the agrarian economy.⁷⁶ But in the Indian rural scene, land purchase did not inevitably stand for useless and profitless investment. On the other hand, land 'is considered to be the greatest asset

76. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

SOME ASPECTS OF LAND PRICES IN THE PUNJAB

of a *zamindar*; even the holder of the poorest and the smallest field is proud of ownership. There is a pride in the purchase of land and a strong desire to keep what is already owned and has come down from ancestors. The share-holders of the same proprietary holding will not permit any portion of the land to be sold if they can possibly avoid it. If one of the co-partners, from malice or for personal interests, wishes to sell to an outsider, efforts are made to prevent this; if he sells, the land is repurchased from the vendee under the right of pre-emption.⁷⁷ In the rural society acquisition of land was associated with the broader social value judgement to which its every member subscribed. Its purchase assured him a higher social status, a better match for his daughters and a greater respectability and power in the deliberations of the village council. At the village level virtually all power, security and wealth flowed from the land. Its resale also offered him a margin of profit in times of any economic crisis. Actually in the village, 'no one speaks of the cost of the land. It is beyond price. Everything else is measured in terms of rupees...But land is land. The man who purchases a land, prizes it and guards it, not only for himself and his children, but also for the sake of those who follow.'

77. Anchal Das & C.F. Strickland, *An Economic Survey of Gajju Chak—a Village in the Gujranwala District* (Lahore, 1934),

Maharaja Bhupinder Singh of Patiala (1900-1938) His Work and Personality

KARAN BIR SINGH MANN*

Maharaja Bhupinder Singh of Patiala was a fascinating, though controversial, personality of his times. He ruled over Patiala (1900-1938) as an unquestioned patriarch, save his period of minority, and for a number of years dominated the Indian Princely scene as a colossus. To one western observer, 'from his accession in 1900 to his death in 1938, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh of Patiala, was perhaps the Sikh nation, and even, for many in Europe was India.'¹

The death of Maharaja Rajinder Singh brought Bhupinder Singh on the throne of Patiala who was yet a minor. The period of regency lasted from 1900 to 1910. Soon after assuming full powers, his flamboyance and obtrusiveness embroiled him in many unsavoury controversies mostly regarding his private life. In the absence of any authentic sources,² it is difficult to sieve reality from myths concerning his private life. What cannot be denied is that Bhupinder Singh's reign was full of activity both in the internal and external spheres of the State. From the domestic administrative point of view, he endeavoured to place the State on a modern footing and there was a lot of action in various fields as a result of his personal interests.³

During the two successive regimes—Maharaja Mahinder Singh 1870-76 and Maharaja Rajinder Singh 1876-90—preceding Bhupinder

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1. Lord John, *The Maharajas* (London, 1972), p. 161.
2. It is widely believed that the British dossiers on the private lives of Indian rulers were destroyed sometime prior to partition of India in order to safeguard the privacy of their 'loyal allies.' See Leonard Mosley, *The last Days of the British Raj* (London, 1961), p. 165.
3. The historical biographical accounts of Bhupinder Singh project him both as a tyrant and a benevolent ruler known for his debauchery and super-human energy. See Jarmani Dass, *Maharaja* (Delhi, 1970), pp. 15-95; Maljinder Kaur, 'Administration of Maharaja Bhupinder Singh of Patiala 1900-1938,' M.Litt. thesis, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1978, pp. 241-60; Ganda Singh, *PEPSU-A Historical Background* (Patiala, 1951), pp. 51-3.

Singh's rule, the routine progressive administrative changes were held back, partly due to early deaths of the rulers and possibly because of lack of interest on their part.

The British paid little or no heed to a wide out-cry in the vernacular press to educate Bhupinder Singh in a traditional native manner.⁴ An Englishman was appointed his guardian-cum-tutor and he was sent to Aitchison College, Lahore, for his education.⁵ His English education may be viewed as a factor of prime importance in influencing his outlook and endeavours for administrative reforms.

II

In 1913, the designations of the State ministers were changed to Secretaries.⁶ This was on the pattern of secretary-system existing in Britain. Later in 1921 the new arrangement was not found to be suitable and the old designations were resumed.⁷ In 1927 the experiment of cabinet system was introduced, with the Maharaja as the President, the Prime Minister as the Vice-President and other ministers as its members.⁸ District boundaries were redrawn in order to facilitate administrative convenience and civil and revenue administration was streamlined. In 1925 the judiciary of the State was thoroughly overhauled and in 1928 Patiala law reports began to be published. These reports included 41 judgements in 1932-33, 58 in 1935-36 and 39 in 1937-38.⁹ Police administration also received due attention. During the minority of Bhupinder Singh J. P. Warburton was appointed the Inspector General of Police in the Patiala State.¹⁰ He earnestly applied his energy in eradicating the existing evils in the Patiala Police force. In 1919, after the first

4. See, *The Tribune* (Lahore), 13 November 1900, p. 2.

5. Foreign Department, Secret-I, January 1907, No 67, National Archives of India (NAI); *Memoranda on Native States in India 1915* (Calcutta, 1916), p. 313.

6. *Administration Report of Punjab and its Dependencies for 1920-21*, p. 3.

7. *Official Guide to the Working of Administration of His Highness's Government of Patiala* (Patiala, 1927), p. 14; *The Daily Jathedar* (Amritsar), 22 September 1922, p. 2.

8. *Administration Report of Punjab and its Dependencies for 1920-21*, p. 3. In the absence of elected assembly the cabinet or responsible system of government introduced in the State was a mere camouflage.

9. *Report of Ministry of Law and Justice of Patiala for 1935-36*, p. 24.

10. *Administration Report of Punjab and its Dependencies for 1900-1901*, p. 2.

world war, a Police Commission, headed by F.L. Newman, was appointed in the State,¹¹ to go into the working of the police and suggest measures to improve its efficiency. The result of these efforts was that the recruitment, training and working conditions of the police was regularised. Thus the police force became a strong instrument in the hands of the ruler who could use it to maintain peace and order on the state and also to crush his political opponents.

Some significant measures were taken to modernise agriculture in the State. In 1919 the agriculture department was set up.¹² It made some efforts to reform the agrarian system of the State on modern lines. But the benefits of the limited modernisation did not diffuse to the mass level.

The State budgets continued to run into deficit year after year.¹³ Adept in the art of keeping the British in good humour, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh evoked no reprimand for his lavishness.¹⁴ It was only in early thirties when he was under political pressure in his own State and stories of his misdemeanour passed into common talks that the British authorities became somewhat critical of him. In order to restore the economy of the State to health he was forced to appoint Sir Fredrick Gauntlet, an experienced financier, as the Finance Minister of the State.¹⁵

The Maharaja promoted the cause of medicine, both indigenous and western. It is said that without him Ayurvedic medicine would have been extinct in Northern India.¹⁶ Patiala became famous for

11. *Patiala Gazette* (Patiala), 9 November 1919, p. 612; *Administration Report of Patiala State 1932-33*, p. 41.

12. *Patiala Gazette* (Patiala), 7 May 1924, p. 11.

13. Barbara Ramusack in Robin Jeffery (ed.), *People, Princes and Paramount Power* (Delhi, 1978), p. 189; Patiala State Record, *Ijlas-i-Khas*, File No. 1377, Punjab State Archives (PSA).

14. Bhupinder Singh contributed lavishly to all causes dear to the British; possibly as a *quid pro quo* the British were soft on him. See *Administration Reports of Punjab and its Dependencies for 1910-1921*.

15. Sir Fredrick Gauntlet had retired as the Accountant General of India. See Foreign Department Proceedings (Progs.), Secret, 1930, File No. 522-P; Foreign Department Progs., Secret, 1931, File No. 646-P; Foreign Department Progs., 1934, File No. 145-P (NAI).

16. Jarmani Dass has painted a very distorted picture of Maharaja's interest in medicine; prying for the unusual he has totally ignored the positive aspect of the Maharaja's interest. See Jarmani Dass, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-25.

proficient *yunani hakims* and *vaid*s. It, in fact, was the crowning of his endeavours when Government Ayurvedic College was founded in Patiala.

The Maharaja made strenuous efforts to improve educational facilities for the people of his State. The primary education was made free in the State from 1911 onwards.¹⁷ By an Act of 1927 it was made compulsory for children between 6-11 years residing within Patiala municipal limits.¹⁸ Efforts to increase middle and high schools in the State were also made. In 1911 there were 125 primary schools, 16 middle schools and one college ; while in 1941 there were 230 primary schools, 28 middle schools, eight High schools and one college.¹⁹ However in comparison to other neighbouring Princely States per square mile literacy rate of the State was not very favourable.²⁰

He rendered a valuable service to the cause of sports in our country. A highest cricket pitch in the world at Chail, a well laid cricket field at Patiala, soil for the pitch of which was flown all the way from Australia, may be viewed as his appreciable contribution to cricket. It was through his efforts that the Cricket Club of India was founded ; he was its first President. He was patron of the South Punjab Cricket Association and a member of the Marylebone Cricket Club. He dominated the cricket scene of India till his death.²¹ He patronised *Rustam-i-Hind* Jalal-ud-Din Gama and his brother, Imam Bakhsh, who brought laurels in wrestling to the State.²² The history of hockey in Patiala goes back to 1901, when the State Army formed its own team. In 1918 the famous Khalsa Hockey Club was founded in Patiala. After 1921, this team was given a new name. The Patiala Tigers soon became a name to be reckoned with on the national hockey circuit. Dalip Singh, the first

17. History Section of Maharaja Bhupinder Singh, File No. H-95-B, p. 2 (PSA).

18. *Patiala Gazette* (Patiala), 13 April 1927, p. 30.

19. *Census Report of Patiala State for 1941*, p. 280.

20. The literacy rate per square mile in the neighbouring States when compared with Patiala was as follows :

Name of State	Literates
Patiala	69
Kapurthala	112
Nabha	89

21. Jarmani Dass has referred to a story according to which Bhupinder Singh aroused the hostility of the Viceroy because of his interest in cricket. See Jarmani Dass, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-46; Fauja Singh (ed.), *Patiala and its Historical Surroundings* (Patiala, 1969), p. 27.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

athlete to represent India in Olympics at Paris in 1924, hailed from Patiala.²³

Bhupinder Singh was a great lover of music. He employed Ali Bux, the famous disciple of Ustad Tan-Ras Khan, as the court musician of Patiala. The Maharaja opened a new department of music and dance. A number of musicians and dancers accompanied the ruler whenever he went on tour.²⁴ It was due to his patronage that the Patiala *gharana* of music attained national fame.

III

Bhupinder Singh cultivated cordial relationship with the Paramount Power.²⁵ He made it a point to contribute lavishly to all the causes dear to the British rulers. During the First World War, he put his men and resources at the disposal of the British and himself voluntarily left for the theatre of war, to fight the enemy.²⁶ His services to the British got adequate recognition and he and his descendants were freed in perpetuity from paying *nazars* to the Viceroy.²⁷ He was nominated to the Imperial War Council and attended the peace deliberations at Versailles. Another outcome of keeping the British in good humour was that he could keep his throne safe even after the State Praja Mandal²⁸ and the Akalis had launched a well orchestrated and vigorous campaign to get him dislodged.²⁹ After his famous 'indictment' by an enquiry committee of All India States Peoples Conference he manoeuvred to get another committee appointed by the British which gave a verdict in his favour.³⁰

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

25. A document by the Patiala State (c. 1930) reveals the loyal record of the State towards the British. Later it turns into an obsequious type of assurance of loyalty. At one place it says, "we have stood with you [the British] in the past, stand with you in the present and shall stand by you in the future." See, *Patiala's Proud Record As Britain's Friend and Ally* (n.p., n.d.), p. 13, Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar.

26. Bhupinder Singh sailed from Bombay but was taken ill at Eden and was forced to return. The Patiala State commemorated his war itinerary by publishing an illustrated volume. See, *Patiala and Great War* (PSA).

27. *Patiala Gazette* (Patiala), 22 August 1917, p. 5.

28. The Punjab Riyasti Praja Mandal was founded in 1928.

29. Rosita Forbes, *India of the Princes* (London, 1939), pp. 51-2.

30. Home Department, Political A, 1931, File No. 100/31; Foreign Department, Political A, File No. 553-P of 1930 (NAI).

When the mass based national movement began to grow in strength in the early 1920s, it gave jitters to the British. They reacted by looking for counterpoises to the Congress. One such counterpoise was the Chamber of Princes founded in 1921. In the founding of the Chamber of Princes Bhupinder Singh played a leading role and in his life-time he repeatedly headed it as the Chancellor.³¹ In an atmosphere surcharged with national feeling, the British had their axe to grind by propping up the Chamber of Princes, the Princes too found cause for insecurity in the hostile innuendoes of the national leaders. In the Chamber they saw a hope of swimming together rather than sinking divided. Bhupinder Singh spearheaded the Princely initiative in this direction from the incipient stage. He was elected Chancellor of the Chamber eight times in the years 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1933, 1935 and 1937.³² He went to Europe in 1928 in connection with the presentation of the Princes case before Indian States Committee; he also attended the First Round Table Conference in 1930 in London as a representative of the Princely order.³³ As a Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes he endeavoured to safeguard the rights of the Indian States vis-a-vis the Paramount Power. He succeeded in securing a respectable position for the smaller States. The constitutional changes introduced by him transformed the Chamber into an effective organ of princely opinion. It would not be wrong to assume that during his life-time he dominated the Indian Princely order like a Colossus.³⁴

IV

Maharaja Bhupinder Singh evinced a keen interest in the Sikh affairs.³⁵ The Akali movement (1920-25) found him embroiled in the

31. K.M. Panikkar, *The Indian Prince in Council* (London, 1936), pp. 1-9.

32. *Memoranda on the Indian States 1936* (New Delhi, 1937), p. 183; *Memoranda on the Indian States 1936* (Delhi, 1938), pp. 198-99.

33. *Census Report of Patiala State for 1941*, p. 34.

34. Panikkar *op. cit.*, p. 127.

35. Barbara Ramusack has put forward the thesis that the rulers of Patiala in their relations with the Sikhs had the motive of self-sustenance. In the early phase of foundation of Patiala State they derived immense benefit from their relationship with the Sikhs brotherhood. Once again, with independence of India in the offing, the Maharaja by having the backing of the Sikhs wanted to assure his future; hence his natural interest in Sikh politics. See Barbara Ramusack, 'Punjab States: Maharajas and Gurdwaras: Patiala and Sikh Community' in *People, Princes and Paramount Power*, pp. 179-80, 196.

hot-bed of Sikh politics. Fully loyal to the British, he towed their line regarding the Sikh movement for the control of their shrines. In this he had a rival in Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha, who was known for his sympathy towards the Sikh cause, which naturally made him popular among the Sikhs. Bhupinder Singh was jealous of his rival's popularity, and it became the major cause of a mutual sniping between the two, leading to a bitter dispute. The British intervened and conducted Patiala-Nabha Enquiry,³⁶ later forcing the Maharaja of Nabha to abdicate in 1923. For his manoeuvres against Ripudaman Singh, Bhupinder Singh came in for bitter criticism from the Sikh leadership.³⁷ In order to regain for his house a place in Sikh leadership, Bhupinder Singh participated in the '*kar seva*' at Amritsar in June 1923.³⁸ With Ripudaman Singh out of the way and successful conclusion of the Akali movement in 1925, there was no love lost between Bhupinder Singh and the Akalis. The main irritant was the refusal of Bhupinder Singh to release Sewa Singh Thikriwala, the top most Akali leader of the Malwa, unconditionally.³⁹ But it was not till 1928 when the Punjab Riyasti Praja Mandal was founded that the Akali-led tirade against Bhupinder Singh gathered strength. That year, with the Maharaja away in Europe, Baba Kharak Singh held political conferences at many places. The tenor of propaganda in these conferences was anti-Bhupinder Singh and called for immediate release of Thikriwala. Next year, on Bhupinder's return, a fresh Akali attempt for holding such conferences was made futile by the State authorities. In August 1929, Thikriwala was released ostensibly in answer to prayers of moderate *panthic* leaders.⁴⁰ While the real reason for the release was that Bhupinder Singh on the eve of his attending the First Round Table Conference 1930 wanted to blunt the Akali hostility in order to stand or as the leader of the Princes and the Sikhs. Thikriwala's political activities again landed him in a Patiala jail in 1930. He was

36. *Patiala-Nabha Enquiry*, Vols. I-XVIII (Simla, 1923).

37. Master Tara Singh, 'Meri Yaad' in Jaswant Singh (ed.), *Master Tara Singh, Jeevan Sangharsh te Udesch* (Amritsar, 1972), p. 93.

38. *The Tribune* (Lahore), 24 June 1923, p. 1.

39. Bhupinder Singh wanted Thikriwala to apologise before his release. The latter, however, saw no reason for an apology, See Jaswant Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 92; Mohinder Singh, *Sardar-i-Azam Master Tara Singh* (Amritsar, n.d.), pp. 73-4.

40. Ramesh Walia, *Praja Mandal Movement in East Punjab States* (Patiala, 1972), p. 74.

released in March 1931 to be rearrested in 1933 under the provisions of the draconian *Hidayat* of 1933 *Bikrami*. In January 1933 he died in the prison. After his death the top Akali leaders, Baba Kharak Singh and Master Tara Singh, reached separate agreements with the Maharaja.⁴¹ Master Tara Singh held that the Akali Dal had reached an agreement with the Maharaja after consulting the Patiala Praja Mandal leaders. According to the agreement all the Praja Mandal leaders in Patiala jails were to be released and the Akali Dal was to keep aloof thereafter from any such agitation.⁴² But it is certain that some radicals Akalis were not satisfied with the conciliatory attitude of the Akali leaders. They later constituted an autonomous Malwa Akali Dal and along with the Praja Mandal continued the tirade against the Maharaja.

The Praja Mandal in those days comprised of cadres having sympathies with the Akalis, the Communists and the Congressites. With the main faction of the Akalis reaching an agreement with Bhupinder Singh, the political movement in the State came to be headed by those Praja Manadlists who were ideologically inclined towards the Communists and the Congress. Under the force of circumstances Bhupinder Singh a mellowed man owing to serious illness that afflicted him, constituted the Constitutional Reforms Committee in 1938. Unfortunately he died soon after.⁴³

V

The rank and file of the political movements in Patiala during Bhupinder Singh's reign comprised of the peasantry. In the beginning the middle peasantry or the peasant proprietors spearheaded the political consciousness, with due sympathy for the lower peasantry that is the tenants. The tenantry of the State was especially sullen after the Regular Settlement completed by Popham Young in 1908. Gradually the tenant movement assumed an independent identity and continued in strength in the region even after the merger of the State with Pepsu (1948). The concerted action of the tenants often

41. Master Tara Singh, *Meri Yaad* (Amritsar, 1945), p. 104; Ramusack, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

42. *Akali Patrika* (Lahore), 26 January 1936, pp. 8-10; *Akali* (Lahore), 13 January 1937, pp. 4, 32; *Patiala Gazette* (Patiala), 7 May 1936, pp. 41-2.

43. Ramesh Walia, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

manifested itself in violent outbreaks aimed at the landlord class. The rising wave of the tenant movement was very disquieting for the rulers. The tenant could only be appeased by a series of conciliatory Ordinances and Acts after 1947. Here it would be pertinent to remember that Bhupinder Singh understood the tenant problem well, but because of his total sympathy with the landlord class he was disinclined to make any concessions to the tenants. This aggravated the situation. As a result, the State was in the throes of political and an agrarian unrest on the death of Bhupinder Singh in 1938.

VI

The manifold activity in the administrative and political field as reviewed above, may in large measure be attributed to the personal interest of Maharaja Bhupinder Singh. He was indeed one of the most prominent personalities not only of the northern India, but of the whole of the Princely India. To a well-informed contemporary observer, who had been intimately associated with him as a minister, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh was a veritable Duryodhana among Princes. A huge figure of a man, handsome and commanding in appearance, he was an admirable example of Punjabi manhood. Six feet two inches in height toughened by exercise, an elaborately arranged beard, a dignified but pleasant face, eyes glittering with determination, such was his outward appearance. It was said of him that in his younger days his strength equalled the strength of ten. In any gathering of Princes, besides him other Maharajas looked like 'rustics.' Such was his regal presence.⁴⁴

Bhupinder Singh was known his remarkable sense of humour. When William Barton, the author of a book on the Princes of India, met him he showed him an invaluable pearl necklace and added facetiously "no wonder that the Soviets went to look India."⁴⁵

Another notable trait of his personality was his unrivalled munificence. Once Josh Maliabadi, the famous Urdu poet visited Patiala in the mid thirties of the present century and requested the Maharaja to grant him a subsistence pension. With his characteristic generosity the Maharaja, appreciative of his standing among the Hindustani poets, granted him a monthly pension of Rs. 250, than a fairly handsome amount.⁴⁶

44. K.M. Panikkar, *An Autobiography* (Madras, 1977), pp. 85-6.

45. William Barton, *The Princes of India* (London, 1934), p. 135.

46. Panikkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-7.

MAHARAJA BHUPINDER SINGH OF PATIALA

The Maharaja was liberal in his religious outlook. The Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of the Patiala State lived in perfect harmony. The Benaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University, the Khalsa College, Amritsar and some other educational institutions of India received grants worth lakhs of rupees from him.⁴⁷

An educated and enlightened despot, Bhupinder Singh was capable of understanding the most intricate problems of the State. In the absence of a legislature or a representative assembly in Patiala, the ministers were responsible to the Maharaja, and in fact functioned mainly as "advisers and administrators and not as formulators of policy." All authority and responsibility was concentrated in the person of the Maharaja.⁴⁸ Though there existed a hierarchy of courts in the State, but the Maharaja was the ultimate source of justice.⁴⁹ He reserved for himself the prerogatives of confirmation of sentences of life imprisonment and of death he had also the sole prerogative of pardon and mercy.⁵⁰

The years of Bhupinder Singh's majority rule were a politically fluid period, in which new permutations and polarisations were taking shape. But he was fit to face ever new political challenges and placed Patiala on the national political map. Therefore it would not be wrong to call him a 'politician of the first water and of international fame.'⁵¹

Like other autocratic rulers, Bhupinder Singh was not free from certain weaknesses and vices. He is generally criticised for his excessive indulgence in the matters of 'wine and women.' He is also accused of not being instinctively inclined towards the general welfare and happiness of his subjects. It is said that given the handicap of feudal personal rule, all the reforms introduced by Bhupinder Singh were little more than a mere 'windowdressing' meant to impress the Paramount and other external observers.⁵² The common people, more especially the peasantry, of the State do not appear to have been contented under his 'personal' rule as is evident from the rising waves of the Praja

47. Patiala State Records, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh History Section, File Nos. H 5 B and H 21 B, PSA.

48. Patiala State Records, File Nos. H 112 B and H 16 B, PSA; also see Barbara Ramusack, *The Princes of India in Twilight of Empire* (Colombus, 1978), pp- 5-6.

49. Patiala State Records, File No. H 114 B, PSA.

50. Ramusack, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

51. *Census Report of Patiala for 1941*, p. 37.

52. Ramusack, *Peoples, Princes and Paramount Power*, p. 172.

Mandal and the peasant movements.

Despite this criticism, which is not without substance, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh had undeniably some remarkable achievements to his credit and he verily deserves to rank as one of the most striking personalities among the Princes of India. With his death in 1938 perhaps ended an era representing the pomp and pageantry of the Princely regime at its peak.

Political Consciousness and the Role of the Punjab Provincial Political Conferences (1895-1906)

DR S. C. MITTAL*

Though the India National Congress originated in 1885, yet almost the whole of Punjab had remained politically quiescent.¹ The early Congress which believed in gradualism and retaining their connection with the Britain had remained the organisation of the western educated classes—lawyers, doctors, journalists and men in various professions. It could not become popular in Punjab. In the beginning it had no programme to rally the peasants or the labourers or the lower strata of the society round its banner. Out of a total of 7999 delegates who attended the Congress Sessions in its first decade, i. e., 1885 to 1894, the number of delegates from Punjab was only 678. These figures include 481 delegates who attended the Lahore Session of the Congress in 1893. Thus excluding this session only 197 members attended the sessions from 1885 to 1894—a extremely poor representation indeed.

Punjab was a Muslim dominated Province who constituted about 49.61% of the population in 1901. In fact most of the Muslims remained indifferent to the Congress. Sir Sayyad Ahmad Khan exhorted the Muslims to remain aloof from the Congress. From 1885 to 1894 out of 876, Mohammadans who attended the Congress Sessions only 80 hailed from Punjab. Out of these 80 delegates of Punjab, 51 were those who attended the Lahore Session of 1893.

Similarly the Sikhs formed only 8.63% of the population in 1901. They also took only limited interest in the politics.

Like the Indian National Congress, no other political organisation was popular in Punjab, while Madras had its Mahajan Sabha, Bombay its Presidency Association and Calcutta its Indian Association, there was hardly any such association in the Punjab to look after the Political interests of the people.²

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1. Sir Michael O' Dwyer, *India as I knew it*, p. 27; B.C. Pal, *Beginning of Freedom Movement in Modern India*, p. 25; Azim Hussan Fazl-Hussain, *A Political Biography*, pp. 70 and 77.
2. *The Tribune*, 10. 5. 1911.

However, as early as 1877 Surendra Nath Banerjea, a well known liberal leader, had established the Lahore Branch of the Indian Association, which might be called the First Political Organisation in Punjab.³ It was managed by Babu Joginder Chander Bose, later a prominent Congress leader, and Kali Prosan Roy, one of the first Directors of the Punjab National Bank. It provided a common platform for all sections of the Indian community. It also showed some activity—an agitation—to prevent the then Punjab University College from being incorporated as a purely oriental University.⁴ Its main activity under the leadership of Babu J. C. Bose continued in the shape of submitting memorials to government and bidding welcome and farewell to coming and departing Lieutenant-Governors.⁵ Its financial burden was chiefly borne in by Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia⁶ of *The Tribune*.

Perhaps all other associations like the Arya Samaj and the Singh Sabha were primarily engaged in their social and religious activities. In 1893 the Indian National Congress was held in Punjab at Lahore. But the people did not show any interest in its activities. It is fully evident that the Congress could not gain any ground in Punjab during the first decade of its inception. Lala Lajpat Rai in his speech in the Lahore Session of 1893 admitted that the time had not come when the people of Punjab could make contribution to the political affairs of the country.⁷

However, the Indian Association of Lahore took the initiative⁸ and passed the resolution to hold a Punjab Provincial Political Conference like those held in other leading Provinces⁹ of India during the last seven or eight years.

Consequently, the First Punjab Provincial Political Conference was held on 15-16 December 1895 in Jubilee Town Hall at Lahore. Sheikh Umar Bux, Pleader, Chief Court, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. It was attended by the prominent

3. S.N. Banerjea, *A Nation Making* (re-print, Calcutta, 1963), p. 43; B.C. Pal, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

4. *The Punjabee*, 10. 10. 1906.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *The Tribune*, 18. 12. 1895 Supplement. See also 14. 8. 1895.

9. *Ibid.* (For example in Bombay Presidency the eight conferences were held, five at Poona, one at Ahmedabad, one at Bombay and one at Belgaum).

personalities of the province particularly the pleaders and the journalists. Some of the notables¹⁰ were Lala Murlidhar, pleader ; Lala Todar Mal Bhandari, bar-at law, Amritsar ; Babu K. P. Roy, pleader, Chief Court ; Babu N. Gupta, Editor, *The Tribune* ; Babu K. P. Chatterjee, Assistant Editor, *The Tribune* ; Pandit Gopi Nath of *Akhbar-i-Am* ; Lala Shambhu Nath Barry, Bar-at Law, Ferozepur ; Lala Bulaki Ram, Bar-at-Law, Dera Ismail Khan ; Lala Sheo Sahey Wadera, Commission Agent, Peshawar ; Lala Jaishi Ram ; Babu Joginder Chander Bose, M. A., B. L. ; Bhai Rajinder, Editor, *Khalsa Bahadur*, Lahore ; Lala Harkishan Lal ; Maulana Mahbul Alam, Proprietor and Editor, *Paisa Akhbar* and Pandit Rambhaji Dutt, Tarn Taran. It was presided over by Lala Lal Chand of Chief Court, who later became the judge of the Chief Court. As regards, the delegates *The Tribune* called them as the 'topmen'¹¹ in every sense in the province. There were between 300 and 400 visitors including a goodly portion of college students of the advanced classes¹². Admission was by tickets, the price of which was fixed very high,¹³ and no popular methods of drawing a large crowd was adopted.

The object of the first political conference was described as pointing out to the government the things which deserved its attention, with a view to reforming the prevailing system of the administration. Lala Lal Chand in his presidential address focussed his attention on the theme 'what is our duty under the circumstances and what shall be our method.'¹⁴ He called the achievements of 'Political regeneration'¹⁵ as its sole aim. To quote his own words :

"To adopt the masonic simile with which we began, that the building which we are called upon to raise is styled political regeneration with public weal and happiness as its central dome supported on each side by Liberty and Loyalty respectively."¹⁶

The President warned the participants that they were yet 'children in politics' and all isolated attempts would be futile.¹⁷

10. *Ibid.*

11. *The Tribune*, 18. 12. 1895.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

The first Conference passed ten resolutions on various local and provincial issues.¹⁸ Some of the important issues were, i. e., the establishment of the Legislative Council in the Punjab, necessity of reconsidering the Frontier Laws and Regulations, permanence in the period of land setting and moderation in enhancement of assessment, reform in the code of Civil Procedure, to raise the status of Chief Court for a High Court, the employment of better qualified and trained men in the Department of Police, to start the Provincial subordinate service upon or limited competition, educational reform and encouragement to the Industrial schools.

The nature of the above resolutions reflect the interests of the various classes the delegates represented. In fact, like the congress, it primarily represented the interests of the English educated middle class. However, this conference also did not fully highlight any grievances of the peasantry or labourers or the depressed classes.

As regard the achievement of the first political Conference, *The Tribune*, highly praised it. According to it 'for a start, the first Conference was all that could be desired.'¹⁹ Again it wrote in its special supplement edition that "it would be no exaggeration to say that since the Punjab passed under British Rule no day had come that deserved to be remembered so much in history as the day."²⁰

In fact the first provincial conference boosted the activities of the Congress. It was an important step in the direction of striking roots at the local level and opening, as it were of a perennial fountain to feed the stream of tendency that made for the wide waters of national life.²¹ Though the number of the participants as well as audience were very small, however, it was a better representative of the men of influence of the province, since the inception of the Indian National Congress. Its resolutions were more bold and impressive and proved more fruitful in inculcating the political consciousness in the province. Though the programmes and the nature of leadership of the Conference were the same as that of Congress, yet it had gathered more confidence and had more impact on the people of the province.

The Second Provincial Political Conference was held in

18. For details see *Ibid.*, 18. 12. 1895 and 25. 12. 1895.

19. *Ibid.*, 18. 12. 1895.

20. *Ibid.* (Supplement), 18. 12. 1895.

21. *Ibid.*, 21. 12. 1895.

Theatre Hall at Amritsar on 4—5 November 1896.²² It was called a truly representative body, representing of the cream of the educated Punjabi community.²³ Babu Kanhiya Lal, pleader, Chief Court, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. It was presided over by Lala Murlidhar of Ambala. Murlidhar was called as Murli Dhar of Lord Krishna.²⁴ It was attended by the prominent people like Lala Lal Chand, pleader; Isher Dass, pleader; Jaishi Ram, pleader, and Maulvi Moharram Ali Chisti of Lahore.

This Conference was more clear about its object. It was to secure something definite.²⁵ The *Akhbar-i-Am* highlighted that the most important matter to be discussed would be the prevailing popular distress and the police reforms.²⁶ Lala Murlidhar vehemently criticised the provincial administration specially the police and the bureaucrats. He called the police as 'the trained soldiers in the schools of duplicity, deceit, cunning and guile'.²⁷ He criticised the official tours and called them 'a source of immense trouble, great inconvenience and serious harm to the people'.²⁸

Lala Murlidhar made a poetical analysis of the British subjects, one of the specimen of his verses runs as follows:²⁹

"Whole world's Empire though they may win
and give fat posts to kith and kin
but peace of mind they cannot win
By committing wrong and grievous sin
The hearts Empire is only one
Of all Empires than can be won
By swords of steel or maxim gun
By cup of tea or pint of rum
By means of Rays of *Rentgen*
Though see they can beyond *therken*
Yet can't secure that purest gem
To crown Victoria's diadem."

Lala Murlidhar appealed³⁰ to the audience to treat orthodoxy and

22. *Ibid.*, 4. 11. 1896 and 7. 11. 1896.

23. *Ibid.*, 7. 11. 1896 and 21. 11. 1896.

24. *Ibid.*, 21. 11. 1896.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Native Newspapers Report on the Punjab*, 1896 (Selection from the Vernacular newspapers published in Punjab, microfilm available in NMML, Vol. IX, Reel No. 1), p. 649.

27. *The Tribune*, 25. 11. 1896.

28. *Ibid.*, 25. 11. 1896.

29. *Ibid.*, 21. 11. 1896.

30. *Ibid.*

heterodoxy with perfect catholicity and to banish bigotry, prejudice and race hatred. He challenged the complex of racial superiority among the English.³¹

The second Conference passed 12 resolutions. They were related to the famine, the establishment of a Legislative Council, the improvement of the status of the Chief Court and raising it to a High Court, the establishment of the Law of Appeal in the Punjab, the educational and examination reforms and suggested giving up of tours by judicial and executive officials. It deplored the delay in giving full effect to the provincial service scheme, revival of indigenous industry, police reform, and the forest laws, etc.³²

Similarly, the Third Provincial Conference was held at Ambala on the 7th and 8th March 1898³³ under the presidentship of Joginder Chander Bose, M.A., B.L. of the Chief Court Bar and one of the executors of Sardar Dyal Singh Will.³⁴

Lala Murlidhar was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Conference passed some resolutions, more or less on the earlier theme. One of the highlights of the Conference was the verses read by Muhar am Ali Chisti, one of the two representatives of the Muslim Community, in which he advised the authorities to win the confidence and attachment of the people, condemned the new law of sedition and exhorted the Hindus and Muslims to become one and forget their differences.³⁵ Later the active participation of the Muslim delegates was condemned by the Muslim Press which warned the true followers of Islam to render no help in this work.³⁶

No political conference, except the Indian National Congress session of 1900, could be held in Punjab between 1898 and 1905. Perhaps Lord Curzon's regime (1899-1905) proved a disturbing element. His strong conviction about the extraordinary superiority of Europeans over the sons of the soil made itself visible everywhere. He lost no opportunity of belittling the capacity and integrity of educated Indians:

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*, 7. 11. 1896.

33. *Native Newspapers Report on the Punjab 1898* (selections from the vernacular newspapers published in the Punjab, Vol. XI), p. 180.

34. Madho Ram, 'The Punjab Provincial Conference,' *The Hindustan Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 88 (Dec. 1906), p. 449.

35. *Native Newspapers Report on the Punjab 1898* (selections from the vernacular newspapers published in the Punjab, Vol. XI), p. 180.

36. *Ibid.* (vide Chaudwin Sadi, Rawalpindi), p. 213.

The educated Indians were always snubbed and asked to remain at their place. One more factor which should not be linked it was that Punjab often remained faction ridden and groups respond to the cry of factions more than that of the nation.³⁷ Mr Khaparde in a letter³⁸ to *The Tribune* wrote a sad commentary on the Congress progress in the Punjab and exhorted the Punjabis to come out for political work. *The Tribune* also exposed the 'double game'³⁹ of the educated classes, i.e., desire to keep themselves in the good books of the local officials and also to attend meetings of the Congress.

However, the people of the Punjab were not slow to feel the warmth of the new life that had come into existence in Bengal. Lord Curzon's administration had produced mixed feeling of fear and pride⁴⁰ especially among the educated classes. The strictures passed upon Indian character by Curzon were akin to those held by the vehement utilitarian James Mill and Lord Macaulay.⁴¹ His speech increased his unpopularity and was resented by a series of protests. In Lahore perhaps it was the largest meeting ever held in the city since 1893 to protest against the humiliating remarks on Indian character and culture.⁴² The departure of Lord Curzon from India was more welcomed than his arrival. Now the Punjabis determined to settle their accounts. The province was also in a ferment when Lala Lajpat Rai whose speeches in England were read with great interest by his countrymen, returned to Lahore in November 1905.

The Anti-Partition and the Swadeshi Movement gave an impetus to the political awakening. Political spirited men in Lahore organised very impressive and largely attended meetings and processions to advance the Swadeshi movement. Credit for initiating the idea of the next Provincial Conference goes to Syed Hyder Raza, B.A., of Delhi, who was a follower of Indian National Congress who made repeated appeals to hold the Provincial Conference at Delhi. The credit also goes to Lala Murlidhar who invited the Conference at Ambala.

37. *The Tribune*, 8. 9. 1906.

38. *Ibid.*, 21. 7. 1906.

39. *Ibid.*, 12. 9. 1906.

40. Earl of Ronaldshay, *The Life of the Lord Curzon*, Vol. I, pp. 294-95.

41. S.C. Mittal, *Freedom Movement in Punjab*, p. 30; for detail see also the author's article 'Lord Curzon's Image in the Contemporary Punjab Press, *Kurukshetra University Research Journal (Arts & Humanities)*, Vol. XI, 1977, pp. 113-16.

42. *The Punjabee*, 24. 4. 1905.

Hence the Fourth Punjab Provincial Political Conference was held on 29-30 September 1906 in Hindu Hall at Ambala after an interregnum of seven years. It was attended by a large number of the educated people. It was said that like Phoenix, conference had risen from its ashes in Ambala. It was hoped that it would be regarded as the rejuvenation of political work in the Punjab.⁴³

Nearly 100 delegates attended the Conference. Some of the prominent personalities were Lala Lajpat Rai, Mrs Sarla Devi Choudhrani, Lala Amulak Ram of Rawalpindi, Rai Sahib Sukh Dyal of Lahore, Syed Hyder Raza, T.C. Morton, bar-at-law, Delhi, Lala Duni Chand, Lala Shankar Nath, Delhi, Lala Nand Lal, Amritsar, Pandit Madho Ram, Ambala, Maulvi Muharram Ali Chisti, Lahore, Pandit Rambhaji Dutt, Mr Alfred Nundy and Ganpat Rai. Rai Sahib Lala Murlidhar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, started the proceedings with the comments that the time had come for the people to look for their progress more to their own efforts than to the patronage of the government.⁴⁴

The fourth conference was presided over by Lala Hans Raj Sawhney. His address was claimed as a remarkable deliverance⁴⁵ and practical and thoughtful.⁴⁶ He stressed that attainment of equality of the British and the Indians in the eyes of the law should be the aims and objects of a political organisation like the Congress.⁴⁷ He regarded the Congress as 'thoroughly cosmopolitan and unsectarian'.⁴⁸ He described the education of the masses as *sine quanon* of all progress and advocated the establishment of schools for giving free and compulsory education.⁴⁹ He whole-heartedly supported the idea of the elective principle from the top to bottom, i.e., to the Viceregal Council to the District Boards and second class municipalities.⁵⁰ He also emphasised on the army reforms, legal reforms, establishment of a High Court and separation of judiciary.⁵¹ His final exhortation was 'serve India and the Indians.'⁵²

*"Vatan par hem fida honge
Hamen to watan piyara hai
Yeh hi mahbub hai apna
Ham is ke, yih hamara hai."*⁵³

43. *The Tribune*, 8. 9. 1906.

44. *Ibid.*, 2. 10. 1906.

45. *Ibid.*, 30. 9. 1906.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE ROLE OF THE PUNJAB

Nearly 12 resolutions⁵⁴ were passed. They were related of the status of the Chief Court to that of a High Court, principle of elections at the right of interpretation with power to members to demand division on the budget debate of the local Legislative Council, against the cruel *begar* system, for providing more chances to the Indians in higher services, frontier laws, more extensive education, extension of local self-government, effective reduction in the number of liquor shops, need of opening of technical schools and commercial classes, some sort of constitution of the Congress, District Political Association to be formed and the right to every boy and girl to receive free elementary education.

The Conference ended with three cheers to the King-Emperor and a loud voice of *Bande-Matram*. The Conference was called by *The Tribune* as 'a prelude to a long spell of activity,⁵⁵ and hoped that the work will be carried on with an awakened zeal and enthusiasm which the importance of the task demand.'⁵⁶

In nutshell, the impact of the Indian National Congress and its feeder Punjab Provincial Conferences may be summarised in three ways. Firstly, neither the Indian National Congress during its first twenty two years (1885-1906) with two sessions held in Punjab nor its off shot the Punjab Provincial Political Conferences in its 11 years (1895-1905) could gain popularity in the province. Perhaps it was due to the nature of the classes they represented. However, it can be safely concluded that comparatively Punjab Provincial Political Conferences exerted more influence on the people. The latter showed more strength and determination and attracted more leaders of the Public opinion. Secondly, though these conferences were the feeders of the Indian National Congress yet through these conferences great impetus had been given to local public life. These conferences created a climate of public opinion, to some extent, in the province. It was due to the fact that the people of the province were more interested in the local and Provincial issues than the national ones. Thirdly, these provincial conferences prepared the way for the creation and the establishment of the Districts Congress Committees in the Province.

54. For detail see *Ibid.*, 4.10.1906; 5.10.1906; 6.10.1906; 7.10.1906; and 9.10.1906.

55. *Ibid.*, 10.10.1906.

56. *Ibid.*

Lala Lajpat Rai's Sojourn In Japan (1915)

DR JOGINDER SINGH DHANKI*

A large number of Indians were migrated to foreign countries, like United States, Canada, South and East Africa, Japan, China, etc., towards the end of the 19th century. In the beginning of the 20th century, the number of emigrants began to swell rapidly. The main reasons were economic and political. One of the political reasons was the prevalence of revolutionary conspiracies which aimed at the overthrow of the British Government of India. The efforts of the Indian leaders to promote the cause of Indian independence from abroad occupies a unique place in the history of India's struggle for freedom. An attempt is made in the present paper to study Lala Lajpat Rai's sojourn to Japan in July-December 1915, activities, contacts with Indian and Japanese high officials like Premier Count Okuma, attitudes of Japanese press, academicians, students and impact of his stay on the Indian National Movement.

Japan, since the beginning of this century, attracted a fair number of Indian students, and their number steadily increased after her spectacular victory over Russia. By 1910-11, there were over one hundred Indian students in Japan. Besides, there were many Indian businessmen, mostly concentrated in Tokyo and Kobe.¹ Japan was then an embodiment of military strength in Asia which appealed to the imagination of the young. The rapid and successful emergence of Japan as a great modern industrialised country excited the admiration and envy of the Indians. Some of the progressive Indian leaders believed that Japan was the only really independent country in Asia; the rest of the continent looked eagerly to her for help and sympathy in gaining freedom. Most important among them were Bhagwan Singh, Abni Nath Mukerji, Heramba Lal Gupta, Rash Behari Bose, Maulvi Barkat-ulla, Kesho Ram Sabarwal, Ram Kishen, Ram Lall, Sohan Singh, etc.²

As early as in 1900 an Oriental Youngmen's Association was formed by a few Indian students with the object of facilitating the

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1. Lancelot Lawton, *Empire of the East*, Part II (London, 1912), p. 804.

2. *Home Department, G. O. I. (Political)*, Nos. 227-229 B, 1914.

cultivation of friendship between the Japanese and the Indians and other Oriental students studying in Japan and to help the latter in their careers while in that country.³ In December 1903, the Indo-Japanese Association was established. After the Russo-Japanese War there was a large influx of Indian students and some of them went to China. This gave a fillip to the activities of the Indo-Japanese Association. Another association namely Japan and India Club was started by Indian students in Tokyo with the help of many Japanese students, but not much is known about its activities.⁴ Even in the Pre-war years, some of the Japanese had shown their sympathies towards the Indian National Movement. The British Government took strong objection to the speech of Count Okuma, former Prime Minister of Japan, before the Kobe Chamber of Commerce on November 2, 1907, when he said that "the three hundred millions of Indians who were oppressed by the Europeans were looking for protection of Japan from the oppression of Europe. Indians were fermenting an agitation for boycott of European goods and if the Japanese failed to avail themselves of the opportunity, they were disappointing the Indian people."⁵

Lala Lajpat Rai, a prominent Indian leader, who was in forced exile in the United States reached Japan on July 19, 1915. On his arrival in Tokyo, he met Rash Behari Bose,⁶ who was then living under the name, P.N. Thakur, and was under orders of deportation. Rash Behari Bose is said to have entreated Lajpat Rai to take charge of a sum of 21,500 Yen, though the latter did not believe in Bose's programme.⁷ The tenor of Lajpat Rai's writings give an impression that perhaps he did not know that Thakur was Rash Behari Bose. But Lajpat Rai knew that Rash Behari was working in Japan under the assumed name of P.N. Thakur.

The confidential report of the Government reveals that Abni Nath Mukerji was carrying message of Rash Behari Bose in Japan to revolution-

3. J. B. Whitehead to W. Cunningham, June 28, 1900, *Foreign Department, Internal B*, September 1900, Nos. 276-79.
4. *Central Intelligence Department*, Circular No. 1 (Political), June 23, 1919, p. 44.
5. *Foreign Department, External*, March 1908, No. 179, NA I.
6. Rash Behari Bose was the leader of a group who attempted on Viceroy Hardinge's life in 1912. On May 12, 1915, he escaped to Japan on the *Sanuki Maru* posing as a relative of the great Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who was scheduled to visit Japan in near future.
7. *Lajpat Rai's Diary*, p. 25, NAI.

aries in India. He was arrested at Singapore in September 1915 and he gave considerable information about Lajpat Rai's doing in Japan. In July 1915, Abni was engaged by Lajpat Rai as a guide. According to him Lajpat Rai disapproved of the Ghadr propaganda.⁸ Heramba Lal Gupta had come to Japan on October 2, 1915 from America to seek the help of the Japanese for the Indian revolution. He sought Lajpat Rai's advice as "how to carry on an anti-British propaganda in Japan."⁹ Lajpat Rai told him frankly that in denouncing British rule in India he would co-operate with anyone, but he would never give himself out either as a revolutionary or as one standing for separation from the British Empire.¹⁰

The British Government took a serious view of the activities of Indian revolutionaries in Japan, and they prevailed upon the Japanese Government to take some measures to stop anti-British propaganda. The result was that two Indian revolutionaries, Heramba Lal Gupta and Rash Behari Bose were served with a notice on November 28, 1915 to leave Japan within five days.¹¹ This created great indignation amongst the Indians and the Japanese. In this connection Lajpat Rai writes, "Virtually the whole of the Japanese press condemned the order and denounced this violation of the right of asylum to political refugees so much honoured and respected by the European nations."¹² The Union of the Japanese press and some leading men Mitsura Toyama, Aijo Sama, Kitosata and Inukai Ki, the leader of the Kokuminto opposition party in the Diet, waited on Premier Okuma and Foreign Minister Baron Ishli to protest against the order and other leaders raised the question in Parliament.¹³ It may be mentioned here that Okuma had a general sympathy for the Indians. He had founded an Indo-Japanese society to foster closer cultural and economic relations between the two Asian countries. At Lajpat Rai's request Professor Iso Abe and Professor Busawa, sympathetic to India cause, saw Count Okuma. The Premier professed entire ignorance and he said that the action had been taken

8. *Central Intelligence Department*, Circular No. 1 (Political), June 23, 1919, p. 44.

9. *Lajpat Rai's Diary*, p. 25.

10. *Ibid.*

11. "Myself and the Indian Revolutionaries, Lajpat Rai's last autobiographical fragment vide J. S. Dhanki (ed.), *The Story of My Life by Lala Lajpat Rai* (Delhi, 1978), p. 55.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Lajpat Rai, *Autobiographical Writings*, p. 211. Also see A. C. Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad* (Patna, 1971), p. 150.

by the Foreign Minister without consulting him and the Cabinet. He hinted that the Japanese Government would not pursue the matter with any keenness.¹⁴ So the Japanese politicians found a way out of saving the Indians affected by the order. "On the eve of the last days," writes Lajpat Rai, "the Indians followed by the two constables went on a visit to one of the leading members of the Japanese Diet (Parliament). The men went inside but the police remained outside. After a while, it was found out that the Indians had walked out of the house by another door and were missing. They were never arrested."¹⁵ According to official records Toyama, an anti-British and sympathiser to Asian revolutionary, also played important role to protect Bose and Gupta.¹⁶ While the police waited outside Toyama's front door, Bose and Gupta were whisked away and hidden in the loft of a bakery owned by one of Toyama's disciples, Soma Aizo, whose daughter Bose was later to marry.¹⁷ Thus, various factors including presence of Indian leaders helped very much for the protection of Bose and Gupta. Infact, though Japan was officially an ally of Britain, a large segment of effective Japanese opinion was anti-British and, therefore, sympathetic towards India's struggle for freedom.

When the news of the revolutionaries' escape reached the British Ambassador, he "earnestly impressed" on the Japanese Government, "the disappointment of His Majesty's Government at the failure of the arrangement elaborated with so much trouble and at such great expense."¹⁸ He had no alternative, however, but to send the Atlas back to Hong Kong despite Ishii's assurances that as soon as the police succeeded in arresting the Indians they would be deported immediately.

In Japan, Lajpat Rai carried on his nationalistic propaganda through press. It was generally moderate and well worded. His articles were published in the newspapers. *The Mayu*, *The Yomato Shinbun*, *The Nitchi Nitchi Shinbun*, *The Osaka Mainichi*, *Japan Advertiser* of Tokyo and *Yakoham*. Lajpat Rai writes, "throughout my stay in Japan, I was in close touch with the Japanese press."¹⁹

14. *Lajpat Rai's Diary*, p. 29.

15. "Myself and the Indian Revolutionaries" vide, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

16. "Japan's Policy towards India, 1915-17," F. O. 371/3424, p. 327.

17. Soma Kokkoh, "Bose and Toshiko" in Radhanath Rath, pp. 27-37.

18. Despatch 5, Green to Sir Edward Grey, Tel. 489, December 2, 1915, F. O. 371/2497, p. 281.

19. Letter, January 17, 1916, Lajpat Rai to Lippmann, *Lippmann Papers*.

During his stay in Japan he published a pamphlet entitled, *Reflection on the Political Situation in India* in December 1915. Lajpat Rai's reflections is a warning and assertion that only self-reliance and strong measures would free the helpless millions of Indians from the murderous tentacles of the British octopus. He held the British responsible for "unrest," "sedition" and discontent in India. He wrote, "the last ten years furnished ample evidence of the fact that India is, as compared with the decade preceding it, seething with discontent which, not infrequently, manifests itself in forms of sedition and violence. That there is unrest, even the British admit. That there is sedition also they do not and cannot deny. But they explained away the former and ascribe it to causes other than a general widespread dissatisfaction with the British rule. The latter, they maintain, is due to the mischievous propaganda of a few revolutionary malcontents, whose members and importance they belittle. But the many repressive and coercive measures, to which they have resorted within the last ten years in order to put down sedition, tell a different tale." Lajpat Rai described the Indian situation as grave and explained, the "mere enacting of a Press Act, almost unsurpassed in its comprehensive rigidity and in the summary powers which it gives to the Executive Government to suppress any newspaper or publication which the Government may dislike, has not proved effective. The drastic powers given to Government by the legislature have been exercised in hundreds of cases. The situation in India is, however, becoming grave and the fate of both England and India is involved. He believed, "Repression only intensifies the discontent." Notwithstanding the unsuccessful attempt to enlist Lajpat Rai's support to the Ghadr Party, the Indian Nationalist Committee at Leipzig, republished in 1917, his article entitled "Reflection on the Political Situation in India" with the following introduction :

"Insulted and disillusioned India will realise frustration after the war and will read upon the red path of revolution to complete the work begun by the patriots who waged the first war of Independence in 1857."²⁰

The British Government took a serious view of Lajpat Rai's activities in Japan. They prohibited the entry of this pamphlet, *Reflections*, in India and the Great Britain. It is further obvious from a secret file of the India Office, London, which reveals official attitudes towards

20. Lajpat Rai, *Reflection on the Situation in India* (Leipzig, 1917).

Lajpat Rai's activities in Japan. "Lala Lajpat Rai is an Indian Nationalist who has not openly thrown in his lot with the Ghadr Party but is working with them. He favours a more discreet propaganda as more effective and has written, chiefly for English and American readers, a very clever pamphlet called *Reflections* on the political situation in India. This was actually written while he was in Japan last autumn (1915)...an intercepted letter from his agent in Japan...asks for the addresses of Punjab pleaders and other influential men to which to send the copies. Large quantities have now been sent to America and India, and the prohibition of its import into the latter country has caused the author much pain, but he is reported to be busy now on other work of a similar nature."²¹ On April 1, 1916, the Punjab Chief Court cancelled Lajpat Rai's pleader's certificate for the year 1916 on the ground of his continued absence from India and for having published the *Reflections* in Japan.²²

The results of Lajpat Rai's visit to Japan were very significant. Among the high officials whom he met were the Premier (Count Okuma) several members of the Cabinet and other politicians. Professor Iso Abe, Professor Whelnack and Dr Shumei Ohkawa, a noted Japanese historian, were his close friends. He delivered lectures at the Wasada and Keio universities and also higher Commercial School at the invitation of the authorities. He had presided over a banquet in honour of the coronation of the new Emperor of Japan at the Vyeno Seiyuken Hotel on the evening of November 27, 1915. It was attended by about 100 people, half of which were leading professors of the universities while other consisted of people holding high status in business, politics and society.²³ The Japanese sponsor of this rally was Okawa Shumei, who was to be the most dedicated ultra-nationalist supporter of the Indian revolutionaries during the war years. They were deeply moved by a fiery speech in English by Lajpat Rai. Its impact led Hugh Byas, the English editor of the American owned *Japan Advertiser*, in his report of the meeting to compare Lajpat Rai as an orator and politician with the eloquent Welsh radical Lloyd George.²⁴ In a private letter to

21. Quoted in Don Dignan, *The Indian Revolutionary Problem in British Diplomacy 1914-1919* (New Delhi, 1983), p. 59.

22. *Central Intelligence Department*, Circular No. 1 (Political), June 23, 1919.

23. *Lajpat Rai's Diary*, p. 27.

24. Keshoram Sabarwal, *A Reminiscence*, in Radhanath Rath, *op. cit.*, p. 550. See also Don Dignan, *The Indian Revolutionary Problem in British Diplomacy* (New Delhi, 1983).

Lippmann, an American journalist, Lajpat Rai writes about his successful visit to Japan thus :

"I spent my time in Japan very usefully for the point of view of my cause, made many friends and succeeded in consolidating public opinion in our favour. The Prime Minister gave me a very long interview extending over an hour and a half and presented me with his photograph with an autograph. The Japanese universities invited me to lecture and the Japanese Press gave a banquet in my honour and so on. I think I know fully all the ins and outs of the Japanese politics."²⁵

Lajpat Rai also became popular among the Japanese students. They sought his advice on progressive ideas and revolutionary movements in colonies. On his return to America, some of them were in touch through private correspondence with him. Some of the letters available now in the proscribed literature of the Indian Government unfold Japanese sympathy of Japanese students for Lajpat Rai and Indian cause. For example, in a letter to Lajpat Rai, one Japanese student wrote :

"I have been in Europe. It has, I think, no great future for itself. But Asia, especially India, is of a great promise. Here it is needless to say what India feels, thinks, wants and does or must do, because you will know about all these. From my humble study on your country, I wish heartily that I may in the heart of the great land with my background and foreground of the Himalayas, the Ganga, the Indus and historical monuments before all which I shall bow in silence. My silence, however, some day will break into voice to declare to my countrymen for Pan Asia. Take me to your country if you have business for me. Call me to Lahore if you want me for India."²⁶

As mentioned above the British Government did not permit such thought provoking and sympathetic letters to reach up to its destination. In fact, Lajpat Rai was under permanent surveillance since his deportation in 1907. His activities and works were carefully watched in India and abroad by the British agents.

While in Japan Lajpat Rai received information of how Indians

25. Letter, January 17, 1916, Lajpat Rai to Lippmann, *Lippmann Papers*.

26. *Lajpat Rai's Diary*, p. 32.

of independent political views especially those returning from America and Japan were being maltreated by the British Government of India. He made up his mind not to return to India. He left Yokohama for America on December 12 and landed at San-Francisco on December 27, 1915.

Why did the Japanese high officials and people co-operate and sympathise with Indian leaders and Indian revolutionary movement. Anti-British air was waving in Japan particularly after 1912. The series of Japanese reverse in China from 1912-14 largely at the hands of their British ally, did much to discredit co-operative diplomacy. So did the Entente's empty handed requests for Japanese military assistance in a European war which in no way threatened Japan's interests. The British, of course, were under intermitted pressures from the French and the Russians to make imperial concessions which might purchase fuller Japanese support in the war. Not unnaturally the British showed little enthusiasm for sacrifices largely at their own expense, but their attitude to Japanese claims engendered increasing ill will in Japan. During most of 1915, the Indian revolutionaries and their German supporters were fully occupied with attempts to strike at India from bases which closer than Japan. The Japanese for their part, and this applied particularly to the ultra-nationalists and Pan Asianists were fully absorbed from January to June 1915 in the twenty one Demands crisis in China. The denouncement of this affair represented a temporary setback for both the extra-parliamentary and the parliamentary nationalists.

Thus, Lala Lajpat Rai was able to enlist the sympathy of many Japanese officials, leaders and students to the cause of India. He studied at first hand the Japanese institutions and wrote about that marvellous country and its phenomenal success. By his writings in the Japanese papers and by lectures and discussions he explained India's case to the people of Japan. He exposed the various evils resulting from British imperialism in his country.

British View of Arya Samaj and Disturbances of 1919 in the Punjab

DR SHIV KUMAR GUPTA*

The wide spread disturbances of 1919-20 in Punjab came to be a vital part of India's freedom movement. They led to a new awakening in the Indian masses and the struggle for freedom had a re-invigorating effect. The causes for the outbreak of these disturbances were not far to be sought. The politically conscious class hoped that, on the termination of war, constitutional advance would be made by the British government in order to meet the aspirations of the Indian people. Mahatma Gandhi had appealed to his countrymen to help the cause of the empire during the war and in return he had expected a genuine consideration of India's claim for self rule. Contrary to their expectations the much lauded Montague-Chelmsford scheme roused among Indians a stir and sensation and it was condemned throughout the country.

The Rowlatt Bills as introduced in the supreme legislature aroused the acutest feelings throughout the country and were opposed by every Indian tooth and nail. The act was criticised with a popular cry "*no dalli, no wakil, no appeal.*" But the government were unrelenting and unbending.

Mahatma Gandhi had already notified his intention of meeting the situation with a campaign of *satyagraha*. The decision was hailed by the country with delight, impressed by Gandhi, Shradhanand also jumped into the movement. In the course of his detailed statement in reply to Lord Hunter, Shradhanand said :

"In February 1919, he came across Mr. Gandhi's manifesto and finding that struggle against the bills was something higher than mere political propaganda, he took the *satyagraha* vow in the beginning of March."¹

The Rowlatt Bills became an Act on 21 March, 1919 under the

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1. *The Tribune*, 7 November, 1919.

name of Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act of 1919. Mahatma Gandhi exhorted all India to observe 30 March as the day of humiliation. Shradhanand came to be the moving spirit behind all what happened on that day in Delhi. According to the British, the disturbances of the 30th March and the subsequent, lawlessness and disorder that prevailed in Delhi, during the first half of April, were largely due to the excitement and unrest worked up by his (Shradhanand's) intemperate speeches delivered publically on various occasions and at different places."² Criminal Intelligence Department kept a full account of Shradhanand's activities during this period. His influence at this juncture was so great that Cocks, Head of the Punjab Criminal Investigation Department, in a letter to the Director, Criminal Intelligence of 29 April wrote that Indian opinion in Punjab is that "Munshi Ram is the king of Delhi."³

For the Rowlatt Bills agitation the C.I.D. held Arya Samaj most responsible. Mr. Cocks was of the opinion that "Arya Samaj is one of the principal causes of the recent disturbances."⁴ The C.I.D. also reported :

"The hand of the Arya Samaj is plainly visible in the present agitation and the general feeling of unrest among all classes and especially among Musalmans served them in good stead...

The Arya Samajists and the extremists of the congress party seized on these conditions and turned them to advantage."⁵

But despite all this, there were Arya Samajists, who did not like the participation in active politics of men like Shradhanand and others from Samaj. The C.I.D. reported :

"Swami Shradhanand has lost much in the estimation of his religionists. The latter says that he did the Arya Samaj much harm by throwing himself head long into extremist or anti-government politics without consulting the leading men in the Arya Samaj."

The report further says :

"Those in the Arya Samaj who are anxious that the Samaj should keep aloof from politics and their number is considerable, are of the opinion, that the Swami cannot be trusted as a leader of the

2. *Home Political Department Proceedings -B*, May 1919, Nos. 268-73. C.A. Barron, Chief Commissioner, Delhi, to H.D. Craick, Deputy Secretary, Govt. of India, Home Department, 30th April, 1919.

3. *Ibid.* 4. *Ibid.*

5. *Home Political Department Proceedings -B*, May 1919, Nos. 268-73.

BRITISH VIEW OF ARYA SAMAJ

Samaj and that he should either withdraw from the Samaj or give up politics altogether.”⁶

Thus, it is clear from the above, how Arya Samaj as a body was still not inclined to indulge in politics. Many of them condemned the action of Munshi Ram for throwing himself into active politics as also for encouraging other Samajists to do so. Even the C.I.D. reports gave enough evidence in this regard. However, severe eye was kept on the Arya Samajists and their institutions during the Rowlatt Bills agitation. The *hartal* of 6 April was very successful in the Punjab. Michael O'Dwyer, the then Lt. Governor recalled :

“It took place in nearly all the chief towns of the central Punjab and were enforced, as I saw personally at Lahore, by the most open intimidation in which college students, especially from the Arya Samaj institutions, played a leading part.”⁷

In the meantime, Mahatma Gandhi was not allowed to enter in Punjab and was arrested and sent back to Bombay. His arrest aroused a wave of unrest and great excitement. Satya Pal and Kitchlew were deported to Dharamshala with a British escort. Lala Harkishan Lal, Duni Chand and Ram Bhaj Dutt were subsequently convicted of waging war and confiscation of property under section 120 and 120 A of the Indian Penal Code and sentenced for life, but was amnestied later. Michael O'Dwyer recalled :

“Raizada Bhagat Ram, a strong supporter of the Arya Samaj, was organising a deputation to represent to the Viceroy that there would be no peace in the province till I (Michael O'Dwyer) was removed.”⁸

13th April, 1919 marked a turning point in the history of India. A meeting was held at the Jallianwala Bagh that afternoon, where about 20,000 men had gathered. This meeting was in open defiance of Brigadier General R.E.H. Dyer's proclamation prohibiting all meetings, gatherings and processions, etc. When Dyer came to know about the meeting, he made up his mind to strike and 'strike hard'. Dyer reached with his men and ammunition and ordered firing without giving any warning or without waiting for any time. The firing continued for about 10 minutes. At a meeting of the Legislature Council, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya estimated 1000 deaths.

6. *Ibid.*, Nos. 701-04.

7. Michael O'Dwyer, *India as I knew it* (London, 1926), p. 289. 8. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

This act produced terrible indignation in the country, stirring a revolutionary feeling throughout the length and breadth of the country. In fact, it gave great impetus to the struggle for India's independence. Gandhi called the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy as "an un-exampled act of barbarity." To Winston Churchill, it was "an episode which appeared to be without parallel in the modern history of the British empire."⁹

Martial Law was declared in Amritsar on 15th April and subsequently in Lahore, Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur districts of the Punjab. It continued till June. The orders issued were not only too harsh to be tolerated, but also devoid of any civilized decency.

During the Martial Law, Arya Samaj and its institutions were the worst sufferers. "One the first orders under Martial Law was attendance of all students of the D.A.V. College at a roll call held three times a day at the Bradlaugh Hall."¹⁰

The Principal and President of the D.A.V. College represented to the Director, Public Instruction, about the serious interruption of studies caused by the roll-call. The Director of Public Instruction wrote to the Chief Secretary suggesting the roll-call might be stopped if the Principals punished the chief offenders. When the Principals of all the colleges submitted the proposals of punishment; whereas the proposals of all other colleges were accepted, that of the D.A.V. College were considered "inadequate" and were enhanced. The D.C., Lahore Civil, wrote to the Principal, D.A.V. College :

"I am directed to say that Col. Johnson considered the disciplinary action suggested there in as entirely inadequate in view of all facts at his disposal, which would tend to prove that the students of your college have exceeded those of other colleges in Lahore in seditious activities. And I am to say that unless we receive from you today a schedule of punishments the D.C. would have no alternative, but immediately close the D.A.V. College and exclude all the students from the forthcoming examination."¹¹

When discussing the causes of indiscipline among the students, J.A. Richey, the Director, Public Instruction, held Arya Samaj and

9. *Parliamentary Debate Proceedings*, 1920, Vol. CXXXI (Sessoin 1920), Vol. VII, 8 July, 1920, p. 1755.

10. Official Report on "*Punjab Disturbances, 1919.*" Letter of Mr. J.A. Richey, D.P.I., Punjab, to the Chief Secretary, No. 173, dated 12 July, 1919, p. 410.

11. *Report of the Commission appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I (Bombay, 1920), p. 90.

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its institutions most responsible. He reported that "a body like Arya Samaj owes much of its power to propaganda of this kind." For this, he wanted to curb the strength of the students of D.A.V. College and suggested, "The D.A.V. has hostel provision of about 600 students, so the total number on its roll should not exceed 750."¹²

In the trouble of Malakwala, a D.A.V. student was directly implicated and sentenced to imprisonment.¹³

J.P. Thomson, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government Punjab, asked all Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab to report from their areas about the causes of the disturbances of 1919. On this, J. Wilson Johnson, Deputy Commissioner, Rawalpindi, reported that :

"The Headmaster of the D.A.V. School, Ram Ditta Mal, who is one of the mainstay of the Arya Samaj, had a very evil influence over his pupils. He is reported to be thoroughly disloyal and tries to do his best to inculcate his ideas into his pupils."¹⁴ A.C. Elliot, Commissioner, Ambala Division, suggested, "The only steps government could possibly take should be to see that no institutions of this kind or any other institutions primarily run by the Arya Samaj gets any grant from government, Government through confidential orders can let it be understood that no applicant educated in any Arya Samaj institutions should be recommended for government employ or taken in any district office. And that in selecting from *zaildars*, *imamdars* and *lambardars*, where possible no candidate, who has been educated in a Arya institution should be appointed."¹⁵

Lt. Col. P.S.M. Burlton, the Commissioner of Jullundur; traced back the seeds of the present unrest to 1907 "when Arya Samaj leaders made a bid for political power."¹⁶ The Commissioner further reported that "throughout the division two agencies were employed, the Congress and the Arya Samaj." W.S. Hamilton, Deputy Commissioner, Jullundur, reported that "the leaders of the agitation were the members of the Arya Samaj headed by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur, Raizada Bhagat Ram and his family." According to him, "The Arya Samajists were definitely anti-Christian and are glorifiers of an imaginary past civilization. Their teachings are, therefore, contemptuously depreciatory of the present government of the country and of the whitemen,

12. *Official Report on Pnnjab Disturbances, 1919*, p. 417.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

who direct it.”¹⁷ Major J. C. Coldstream, Deputy Commissioner, Ludhiana, reported, “That the number of those conspicuous in the agitation we believed to the members of the Arya Samaj.”¹⁸ G. F. Demont Morency, Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur, reported :

“Among the Hindus the promoters and organisers generally belonged to the Arya Community the number of Aryas and Sanatanists eventually convicted were about equal but the more important criminals who received the heavier sentences were almost without exception in Arya Samajists.”¹⁹

Another Indian officer traced the movement of glorification of the orient to the establishment by the Arya Samaj of its educational institutions, which devoted their energy to research and to the study of old Sanskrit literature thereafter diverting their attention to practical politics and gaining strength and boldness from the supineness and “laissez aller” attitude of government.”²⁰

G. A. Cocks informed all Superintendents of Police that :

“For many years, the Arya Samaj has played a leading part in opposition to and criticism of government and its methods, and the society numbers among its adherents a very large proportion of the educated Hindu. Police officers are all well acquainted with the multifarious and often-mischievous activities of this body. The hand of the Arya Samaj is plainly visible in the present agitation and general feeling of unrest among all classes and especially among Musalman served them in good stead.”²¹

A. L. W. Kitchin, Officiating Commissioner, Lahore Division, reported :

“The Arya Samaj was involved from top to bottom with all its organisation and the Arya Samaj is a definitely anti-Christian body. No one, who had read *Satyarth Parkash* can doubt that the Arya Samaj is a political sectional body, anti-Musalman, anti-Sikh and anti-Christian and above all anti-European.”²²

The Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, reported : “The Arya Samajists were working hard to corrupt the Railway Department with a view to paralysing communications. Four Arya Samajists were convicted. Three agitators were deported from Lahore (on 14 April) Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutt, Harkishan Lal and Lala Duni Chand.”²³

17. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 386.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 384.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 281.

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It was reported from Gujranwala that "there appears to be no doubt that the organisation working behind the rebellion was that of the Arya Samaj. "The Deputy Commissioner was so better about this organisation that he suggested that :

"No grants-in-aid should be given to any educational institution of the Arya Samaj and no person professing tenets of this religion should be employed in any form of service under government or local bodies." He urged, the necessity of dealing strongly with the Arya Samaj," and suggested that records and history sheets should be kept of all the members showing their relationship and their connection."²⁵

The Deputy Commissioner, Gurgaon, reported that :

"All Gurukul orphanages and similar places should be under immediate control of local officers, who should have power to close them when in their opinion they are not satisfactory."²⁶

It was reported from Ropar that "any unrest that has manifested itself in this sub-division has been entirely due to the efforts of the Arya Samaj."²⁷

Col. O'Brien said, "As Swami Shradhanand is taking part in the agitation you must be taking part also."²⁸

Thus, most of the Deputy Commissioners held, Arya Samaj responsible for the disturbances of 1919.

Lord Hunter, President of the Enquiry Committee on Punjab Disturbances, asked J.P. Thomson, the then Chief Secretary, Punjab, about Arya Samaj, "Is not that in its origin a non-political body" ? Thomson said :

"Well, in its origin, sir, it is very difficult to say. I could give you a copy of the *Satyarth Parkash*, if you could come to see it.

I think everybody who reads that must come to the conclusion that the object of the founder of religion was to creat a nationalist spirit and I think that is the reason why we find so many Aryas in the fore-front of these disturbanecs. Whether they used their organisation for the purpose of fomenting disturbances is imma-

22. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 206-13.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-43.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-04.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-28.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

28. *Punjab : Disturbances 1919-20*, Vol. I (Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of Indian National Congress to look into Jallianwala Bagh Massacre) (New Delhi, 1976), pp. 112-13.

terial from the particular point of view, but I think that, in view of the nationalism which was the main substance of their creed they were bound to come to the front."²⁹

Thus from the reports of the officials, it is clear that the government considered that the movement was anti-British, anti-European and anti-Christian because its prime conductors were the Aryas. Aryas were prosecuted and terrorised almost throughout Punjab. They were also awarded severest and maximum punishments. Michael O' Dywer has also written :

"While the Samaj does not include perhaps more than 5 per cent. of the Hindu population of the Punjab and enormous proportion of Hindus convicted of sedition and other political offences from 1907 down to the present days are members of the Arya Samaj."³⁰

It was generally suggested by the British Officers that the Arya Samaj should not be encouraged, no grants should be given to their institutions, no employment to persons of this class, etc. Such accounts furnish a clear index to the views of the government about Arya Samaj particularly when the statement of the official witnesses before Lord Hunter-Enquiry Committee as well as the trials held by the Commissioners appointed by Punjab Sub-Committee of Indian National Congress to look into Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, entirely disproved the assumption that the Samaj was connected with the recent disorders. In fact, Arya Samaj had been under suspicion since its inception. Arya Samaj, as a body, never took part in politics so far. No doubt, there were some politicians in the Arya Samaj, but they were in their individual capacity. In fact, the British government failed to differentiate between the objects and actions of an individual Arya Samajist and Arya Samaj as a body. For the political activities of a few Arya Samajists, whole body was branded 'political.' Even when the Chief Commissioner asked about the causes and nature of the disturbances, involvement of Arya Samaj was suggestive. Taking a hint, the officials took no time to conclude that Arya Samaj was primarily responsible for the disturbances of 1919 in the Punjab.

29. Datta, V.N. (ed.), *New Light on the Punjab Disturbances in 1919*, Vol. I (Simla, 1975), p. 43.

30. Michael O'Dywer, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

Some Achievements of the Punjab Communists (1923-1942)

DR S. D. GAJRANI

Lahore was one of the ideological centres, which came into existence, in various parts of the country, in the early 1920's. M.R. Khan, Shamsuddin Hassan and Ghulam Hussain took a leading part in the formation of the Communist party in Lahore.¹ In the beginning their work was primarily confined to recruitment of members into their circles and dissemination of the Communist literature obtained from abroad.² Ghulam Hussain came into contact with the Bolshevik centre,³ when he visited Kabul. After his return to Lahore, he started a Communist news-paper—*Inqilab*.⁴ The motive behind it was to promote communism in Punjab and to obtain hold in the labour and *kisan* organisation of Lahore. However, the Lahore group which had started crystallising around the *Inqilab* collapsed soon because of the arrest of its founder in June 1923.⁵ The work of Communist propaganda had been undertaken by the *ghadr*ites at the time of third international organisation. The *Ghadr* Group was convinced that the British rule would only be overthrown with the help of arms and there was no other possible way to do so. In March 1921, the *Ghadr* group published,

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1. Adhikari, G., *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India*, Vol. I, 1972, pp. 2-3 ; Home Department, File No. 103/IV-1923-Political (The Communist Party at Lahore was formed towards the end of 1922.)
2. How the Communist literature was smuggled into this country, see three transcripts, i.e., of Zaheer Shri Sajjad, Acc. No. 298; Indulal Yajnik, Acc. No. 10/8 and Shri Shaukat Usmani, Acc. No. 307 (Private Papers Section). NMML.
3. For details see Home Deptt., File No. 261, K. W. (I), 1924, NAI, New Delhi.
4. *Ibid.* ; File No. 103/IV/1923-Political (originally this Paper was started in August 1922 by Shamsuddin Hassan, but had stopped after a few issues. It was restarted as a bi-weekly by Ghulam Nabi on advice of Ghulam Hussain) For details about *Inqilab* see Kaye Sir Cecil, *Communism in India: 1971*, pp. 71-2 ; Adhikari, G., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 1974, p. 138.
5. For details see Home Department, File No. 261-K. W. (I)-1924, NAI, New Delhi ; Kaye Sir Cecil, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

a pamphlet *Inqilab-i-Hind*, which clearly stated its ideology.

It was through Rattan Singh that the Punjab *ghadr*ites were maintaining contacts with the third international organisation.⁶ And, he himself was collaborating with the Communist international.⁷ At this stage a batch of five *ghadr*ites left for Russia to be trained in Communist propaganda,⁸ who maintained contacts with the *Kirti Kisan* organisation in Punjab through the Kabul centre, which was definitely of Communist leanings. In reality, the *Kirti Kisan* movement was merged in the Communists, who always thought in terms of helping the agrarian movement.⁹ Similarly, the other political associations had always shown and were out to show their sympathies with the agrarian movement which shows that all these groups were having left leanings to some extent and also had close contacts with the Communists.¹⁰ For example, even before its birth, three Peshawar Conspiracy Cases (1921-22) were instituted against the revolutionary workers having Communist ideology.¹¹ To get a permanent hold and propagate their ideas among the peasants in the province, the Communists started a paper *Jang-i-Azadi*. Soon after this, the agrarian movement gathered momentum. Now those who held communist leanings, wanted to start agrarian movement enmass under the Communists' banner. Similarly, the tenants of the states received a sufficient backing from the Communist leadership.¹² The so called *Kisan* Conferences were being organised by the tenants in league with the so-called Communists in the states. Similarly, the Communists tried to take the tenants and small landholders in the organisation.¹³

6. Petrie David, *Communism in India : 1924-47*, p. 39 ; For Rattan Singh's activities see *The Kirti* (Amritsar), February 1926.

7. Home Department, File No. 41/1926, NAI, New Delhi.

8. *Ibid.*

9. For details relating to the relation and co-operation of the Communists, see fortnightly Reports of the Province from 1934 to 1937 in particular ; also File Nos. 18/9/1941-Political ; 226/1942 (i)-Political, NAI, New Delhi.

10. Malhotra, Avtar Singh, 'Fifty Years of Struggle of CPI, punished in a *Souvenir* issued by CPI in 1976.

11. *Ibid.* ; Zafar Iman, *The Rise of Russia and Socialism in India : 1917-29*, p. 22 ; *Basta* No. 18, Case No. 386/C, Patiala State Records, PSA, Patiala.

12. Patiala State Records, *Basta* No. 13, Case No. 535/C, PSA, Patiala ; Malhotra, Avtar Singh, *op. cit.*

13. Home Department, Fortnightly Reports—Political, years from 1934-41 ; Patiala State Records, *Basta* No. 565/C, PSA, Patiala (Pb).

The *Kisan Sabhas* were at first mistaken for Communist organisations. But to speak of any influence of communists' ideology over peasants' at this date is ridiculous, for in the early days the communists thought the peasants, with their conservative tradition-bound and superstitious outlook were anti-revolutionary petit-bourgeois and unsuitable raw material for a revolution.¹⁴ But later on, as stated above, the Communists were real leaders of the Punjab *Kirti Kisan* movement in the province and the tenants' movement in the Punjab States as well.

It was, however, this group which exposed ruthlessly the dreadful reality of imperialism. It also advocated that total liberty could not be attained without eradicating it from social and economic fields. It equally exposed the stooges and the allied forces of imperialism, *rajwarashahi*, *jagirdari* and capitalism and made their extinction an essential objective of freedom struggle.¹⁵ The Communist leadership also laid emphasis on the special role of workers and peasants in the freedom struggle and along with organising and marshalling them for the protection of their interests and rights, it too made them conscious and active to make maximum contribution in the national freedom struggle.¹⁶

In numerous revolutionary struggles, this group was in the front. Its role in the *Ghadr Lehar*, the *Babbar Akali Lehar*, the *Naujawan Bharat Sabha*, the *Pepsu Muzaras* movement was prominent.¹⁷ As seen earlier, the young terrorist revolutionaries also established contact with the small Communist groups which were sprouting up all over the country.¹⁸ Particularly in Punjab but also in Kanpur and Allahabad, they maintained close contact with the Communists.¹⁹ During the years 1928-30, the Communists and terrorist revolutionaries worked together in the *Naujawan Bharat Sabha*.²⁰ And we have

14. Ramakrishnan, T., '*Kisan Movement in Andhra : 1918-38, Seminar on Socialism in India*, Parts II, Nov. 28-30, 1968, NMML, New Delhi. (For details also see Sarkar, B. B., *The Origin of the Socialist Movement in India : 1919-39*.)

15. Krishna Hathee Singh, *With No Regrets* (Bombay, 1943); Malhotra, Avtar Singh, *op. cit.*; Zafar Iman, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-3.

16. Malhotra, Avtar Singh, *op. cit.*; Krishna Hathee Singh, *op. cit.*

17. *Ibid.*; also personal meeting with Master Hari Singh (CPI, Office, Chandigarh).

18. Sanyal, J. N., *Sardar Bhagat Singh* (Lahore, 1931), p. 26.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PUNJAB COMMUNISTS

already noted that one of the major objectives of the *Sabha*, as laid down in its rules and regulations, was the organisation of the workers and peasants.²¹ The Naujawan Bharat Sabha, also decided to open branches in villages in order to emphasise the value of work in the rural areas and the Communists were always supporting them.²²

Another significant fact worth mentioning is that the Communist Party of India, was the first political faction which applied systematic principles of Marxism Leninism to the problems of the peasants and prepared its land programme on systematic lines. It also organised the Indian peasants at the grass-root level. It also advocated the right revolutionary policy of associating the peasants with the workers' movement and national struggle for freedom. The communists advocated a considerable reduction in *malia* payable by the peasants; exemption (be given) for *malia* for a period as long as it was necessary and relief (be provided) to small peasants to a reasonable extent in view of the decrease in the rent of land.²³

The Communists had been working within the Congress itself and had led a staunch anti-imperialist and leftist section of the party. They were to play a prominent and specific role, which was, to lay stress on the importance of revolutionary struggle against the English empire; to make efforts for the unity of all revolutionary and patriotic forces for this purpose; to get the demands and feelings of the working people reflected in the programmes of the Congress and to project the Congress as a national *morchas* against imperialism and feudalism and for national liberty.²⁴

However, this fact can not be ignored that in 1930-31, the Communists started criticising the Congress. It was between 1928 and 1935 that the official *journals* of the Comintern published a series of

21. *The Rules and Regulations of the NBS*, Punjab, May 1, 1928, *Meerut Conspiracy Case*, 1929, Exhibit No. P. 205 (T); Home Department (Political) Proceedings, File No. 130 & K. W. (1930), p. 35; Sanyal, J.N., *op. cit.*, p. 25; Gopal Thakur, *Bhagat Singh; Man and His Ideas* (New Delhi, 1952), p. 39; Sandhu, V., *op. cit.*, p. 224.
22. Home Department (Political), Proceedings, File No. 130 & K. W. (1930), p. 10 of K. W.
23. For demands, aims and programme of the Communists in the Punjab see Home Department, File No. 6/11/1924-Political; 10/IV/1929-Political; 12/3/1936-Political; 18/5/1936-Political; 18/6/1936 P. L. C. D., Vol. XX, 1931.
24. Personal interview with Master Hari Singh (CPI, Office, Chandigarh).

articles, statements and documents branding Congress leaders as anti-revolutionaries, treacherous and exhorting the Indian Communists to launch a firm fight against the left section of the Indian National Congress particularly. The Communist leadership accepted this new line at once. The speeches at the various *Kisan* Conference showed that the Punjab Communist Party was also following the political line of the Communist Party of India.²⁵ It is also important to state that the main communist activity centred round a number of Conferences in the Amritsar district. The police reports vividly show "in Amritsar district, Socialists and Communists held almost daily meeting and *dewans* in some village or other and rural propaganda was almost constantly carried on in the *Batala teshil* of Gurdaspur."²⁶ Though these conferences could not attract a large audience, this insistent and constant effort to spread Communists' views, of course, requires a careful attention, because the communist workers had reached a state where action by the Government was required.²⁷

Another significant point worth mentioning is that the Communists enjoyed the support of the masses in the countryside and also of the *Jat* agriculturists. But it is very difficult to state clearly whether it were the poor or well-to-do *Jats* which provided them with shelter and organisational help in the rural areas. However, the impression which one gathers from the memories written in the later period tends to point out that the local leadership was mostly provided by the well-to-do section of the agriculturists.²⁸ However, despite its sincere efforts, the Communist Party of India remained a narrow sectarian group between 1925 and 1935. In fact, it was the seventh Congress of the Communist International that enabled the Indian Communists to build for the first time a real All India Communists Party with Provincial Committees in almost all provinces.²⁹

25. The *Kirti* (Amritsar), January 1930. For details also see the fortnightly reports of the year 1935-Home Department (Political), NAI, New Delhi. (Most of the *Kisan* Conferences were organised by Communists where they demanded cancellation of debts and assessment of land revenue on the basis of income tax, etc.)

26. Home Department, File Nos. 18/3/1937-Poll.; 18/7/1938-Poll., NAI, New Delhi.

27. Home Department, File No. 11/4/1937-Political, NAI, New Delhi.

28. For details see Jagjit Singh's article published in the Punjabee dailiy, *Nawan Zamana*, December 1975.

29. Inprecorr, February 29, 1936 (Dutt, R. P. and Bradly).

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PUNJAB COMMUNISTS

At this stage, the Comrades in the Punjab had decided to form a Provincial Communist Party and on open agitation was favoured by them.³⁰ Having this aim in mind, on July 10, three secret meetings were held in Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, in which it was decided to form a labour party in the province to organise the masses for economic uplift and for political work in the countryside.³¹ Let it be noted that two of the three conferences were held by the *Naujawan Bharat Sabha* and the *Mazdoor Kisan Sabha*. The aim of the convenors was to bridge the gulf between the *Kirti Kisan Sabha* and *Naujawan Bharat Sabha* as a preliminary to an extension of Communist activity throughout the province.³² Thus, the three bodies, the *Kirti Kisan Party*, the *Naujawan Bharat Sabha* and the Communists, worked in collaboration; their efforts to amalgamate would not have met with much success,³³ if these bodies had not worked together. For instance, when the *Amritsar Kirti Kisan Sabha* drew up an extensive propaganda tour from 29th May to the 17th of June in the villages of the Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts, many Sikh Communists had been announced to speak. Its object was to exploit the discontent over the prospective resettlement of the district and to impress upon the government the necessity of reducing the revenue and water-rates.³⁴

Some time in 1935-36, differences sprang-up between the *Ghadr* group and the Communists. But the latter were determined to continue their programme in villages and to create as much unrest as possible.³⁵ In brief, the real Communist agitation continued in the districts of the central Punjab under the auspices of the *Punjab Kirti Kisan Party*.³⁶ The Communists and the Socialists also continued to make use of all

30. Home Department, File Nos. 103/IV/1923-Poll.; 10/IV/1929-Poll.; 18/9/1932-Poll.; 18/8/1933-Poll., NAI, New Delhi.

31. Home Department, File Nos. 18/8/1933-Poll.; 18/12/1933-Poll.; 18/13/1933-Poll.; 18/14/1933-Poll., NAI, New Delhi.

32. Home Department, File No. 18/1/1934-Political, NAI, New Delhi.

33. Home Department, File Nos. 18/2/1934-Poll.; 18/3/1934-Poll.; 18/4/1934-Poll.; 18/5/1933-Poll.; 226/42 (i)-Poll. (The Punjab *Kirtis* and the Communists were united in their hatred of British imperialism), NAI, New Delhi.

34. Home Department, File Nos. 18/6/1934-Poll.; 18/4/1937-Poll., NAI, New Delhi.

35. Home Department, File No. 18/2/1937-Poll., NAI, New Delhi.

36. Home Department, File Nos. 18/5/1934-Poll.; 18/6/1934-Poll.; 18/7/1934-Poll.; 18/10/1934-Poll.; For more details also see File Nos. 18/7/1936-Poll.; 18/7/1936-Poll., 18/10/1936-Poll.)

sort of meetings for the propagation of their particular cult.³⁷ As we have noted earlier also, the *Kirti*, the *Punjabee* journal, was the organ of the *Ghadr*-cum-Communist Sikhs.³⁸ So, the above said differences between the two factions could not continue for long.

The main activities of the Communist group, however, centred round a number of conferences in the districts of the central Punjab—particularly in the areas where the *Ghadr* and the *Kirti* leaders resided.³⁹ Their main objective was to interest all the peasants in the new settlement. The main cry was for the assessment of land revenue on an income tax basis and they also demanded the abolition of the *thikari pehra*, *begar*, *malia* and *abiana*, etc. Thus, they helped to create an impression of the growing strength of Socialism and Communism.⁴⁰ Now the Communist-cum-*Ghadr* Party held Conferences in Jullundur district. They were determined to organise a country-wide 'no-rent' campaign. They also planned to take advantage of the war situation and the possible political unrest in the province to spread their doctrines and influence.⁴¹ It was in October 1939 that the Punjab branch of the Communist Party brought out a fortnightly paper *Alan-i-Jang* and distributed it in the Punjab and the North West Frontier Province.⁴² It contained anti-recruitment propaganda and also inciting material for the peasantry and troops.⁴³

The well known Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929) was used by the British imperialists to declare the party illegal with the several organisations and fronts associated with it and this ban continued uptill 1942.⁴⁴ In reality, in the second half of 1942, the communists were very active in conducting propaganda and they organised as many as seven rural meetings. They held that it was imperative to resist Japanese

37. Home Department, File No. 18/10/1937-Poll., NAI, New Delhi.

38. Home Department, File No. 18/1/1937-Poll., NAI, New Delhi.

39. Home Department, File No. 18/6/1937-Political, NAI, New Delhi.

40. Home Department, File Nos. 18/4/1937-Political; 18/7/1937-Political; 18/8/1937-Political. (For details also see File Nos. 18/6/1937-Poll.; 18/9/1937-Poll.), NAI, New Delhi.)

41. Home Department, File Nos. 18/7/1939-Political; 18/10/1939-Political, NAI, New Delhi.

42. Home Department, File No. 7/6/1939-Political, NAI, New Delhi.

43. *Ibid.*; For more details see File No. 18/6/1940-Political, NAI, New Delhi.

44. Zafar Iman, *The Rise of Soviet Russia and Socialism in India* (1919-29), p. 22; Malhotra, Avtar Singh, *op. cit.* (Also confirmed by Master Hari Singh in a personal meeting with him at Chandigarh.)

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PUNJAB COMMUNISTS.

aggression and stated that the support for the British was a matter of expediency. It was alleged that joining the army in large numbers would transform it into a National Army paving the way for the seizure of power at the end of the war. Soon after this, the Communists belonging to the Communist Party of India and the *Kirti* Group joined hands for the first time with "mutual trust" and "full-faith."⁴⁵ The *Kirti* group was also backing the Communists. During the month of August, twenty three meetings were held by the Communists at various places. Similarly, they had held Conferences throughout the month of July, but it was becoming increasingly difficult for them to conduct effective pro-war campaign in the face of the reports spread by the Akalis and the Congress that the Communists had purchased their release from jail on the understanding that they would back the war efforts of the government.⁴⁶ The ban on the Communist Party was removed on July 23, 1942; with the removal of ban, the systematic organisation of the Communist Party began in the Punjab.

Now the *Kisan* Committee and the Communists were using their influence to prevent anti-government sabotage and violence. But there was a major shift in the nature of Communist political work within a few months. By October 1942, they, in the Punjab had almost abandoned the conduct of anti-fascist propaganda and were concentrating on strengthening and enlarging the party organisation.⁴⁷ In their open meeting, the main emphasis was on the establishment of a national Government. Surveying the political situation in the province, a police report observed : "The Communist influence was, no doubt, helpful in exercising a moderate effect on the Congress campaign during its critical phases, it now remains to be seen whether or not communists have outlived their usefulness."⁴⁸ *Jang-i-Azadi*, the Communists organ continued to conduct the propaganda in favour of national unity, to criticise the Government, the demand, the release of the Congress leaders and to issue appeals to resist Japanese aggression.⁴⁹ After the end of the Second World War, the Communist Party gave a

45. *Ibid.*; Krishna Hathee Singh, *op. cit.*; Home Department, File No. 18/7/1942-Political, NAI, New Delhi.

46. Home Department, File No. 18/7/1942-Political ; 7/2/1942-Political (1) and K. W., NAI, New Delhi.

47. Home Department, File No. 18/10/1942-Political, NAI, New Delhi.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

still more solid shape to its land programme and demanded that the land reforms should not be limited merely to the abolition of *zamindari* (the demand which the Congress had already conceded in 1946). These should, on the contrary, go still further as a programme of the distribution of land.⁵⁰

However, during the period under review, the Communist movement in Punjab had always been a minority movement, but not an insignificant movement. It was one of the smaller parties but the communist movement was gathering popular support, as it could teach the first lesson of Socialism, though not in scientific way, to the illiterate ruralites and at the same time exposed the hypocrisy of the landlords' class which had been exploiting the poor peasantry on one hand and as the other harming the larger interest of the country while supporting and strengthening the hands of the imperialists. It is worth noting that the peasants' struggle in which they were thickly involved was purely a economic struggle, and the communist leaders never exploited religious sentiments of the peasants and other ruralites. Though they were not well educated and nor they had scientific approach in life but they could vividly understand the root cause of unrest among the peasants and their backwardness. They also understood very clearly the nature and motives of the *jholichaks*. As a result they could successfully fight not only for the just rights of the peasantry instead contributed to a great extent in the then war of liberation for the country.

Undoubtedly, the Communist Party in the Punjab was opposed by the other political organisations. However, it is interesting to the peasants' movement in the Punjab and the tenants' struggle in the Punjab states was supported by all the political groups which had left leanings and believed in leftist ideology of the Communist International.

50. Malhotra, Aytar Singh, *op. cit.* (for complete details see the fortnightly reports, Home Department (Political) of the year 1945 and 1946), NAI, New Delhi.

The Sikh Archives, Its Organisation and Loss

DR MADANJIT KAUR*

Among the religious communities of India the Sikhs are the most conscious about their cultural identity and survival as a distinct community within the Indian social frame work. They possess a strong sense of history and a cherished desire to keep contact with their past. The Sikhs have a glorious heritage and their annals are full of sagas of heroism and sacrifice. However, inspite of this historical consciousness, the Sikh organisations have paid scant attention to preserve their past in modern scientific terms.

It is a known fact of history that the Sikh community has moved through the most hazardous challenges but they have kept their tryst with destiny to survive their existence. However, the periods of trial under the later Mughals and the Afghan invaders proved arduous for protection and preservation of literature, historical records, monuments, relics and remains. This period of darkness and uncertainty is difficult to be explained in the absence of adequate historical evidence. Admittedly documentary evidence on the early history of the Sikhs is meagre and it is difficult to reconstruct the true picture of the contemporary Sikh society in actual historical perspective. But this is not true of the later history of the Sikhs when ideas on religion, theology and politics were not only revitalized but also guided the religious actions of their organisations. The Sikhs confronted a crisis of identity under the dominating impact of Brahmanism. The period comprised the problem of identity as a distinct community. There was the phenomenon of the Sikh resurgence under the leadership of Singh Sabha Movement. The Sikhs moved from political confusion into a new self-awareness and evolved into a political entity with the formation of the Akali Dal and the organisation of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. The new self-awareness heralded an era of awakening among the Sikhs in the third decade of the twentieth century. Attempts were made in literature and journalism to produce tracts and pamphlets glorifying the lives and teachings of the Sikh

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Gurus and the heroic culture of the Khalsa. The authors focused their attention on understanding fundamental Sikh doctrines and recording true Sikh traditions. A large number of tracts, booklets, pamphlets, commentaries and glossaries were published. The Sikh scholars were exhibiting keen interest in their past. Much of their efforts were aimed at searching old literary sources and evaluating historical documents and records in Sikh context.

The development of the sense of history and desire to preserve their heritage were the products of the cultural revolution which had shaped the Sikh community in the modern times. Later on the secularization of thought and growth of scientific methodology and questioning of all systems embodying eternal truths enhanced the importance of Sikh studies in the present context.

The Sikhs' historical awareness that fostered research and writings also resulted in the preservation of religious texts. By the end of the nineteenth century organised attempts were made at the institutional level by two Sikh societies viz., the *Gurmat Pracharak Sabha* of Amritsar and the *Gurmat Granth Sudharak Committee* of Lahore. Both these organisations sponsored collection of religious texts and their historical study. These societies examined texts and attempted to prevent the printing of the inferior editions of the *Ādi Granth*, and the unauthentic versions of the *Janamsākhis*. The contributions of these institutions were supplemented by the efforts of individuals like Gian Singh Giani, Bhai Kahan Singh of Nabha and Bhai Dit Singh. The voluminous works produced by these scholars are not only sources of Sikh history and scripture but also they represent the interests, and ambitions of the contemporary Sikh generation trying to formulate Sikh doctrines and preserve records for future reference. Subsequently, the spread of education among the Sikhs and the growth of Panjabi literature reflect similar concerns of the Sikh community. Moreover, the growth and development of Sikh journalism offered effective means of communication. The response of the Singh Sabha leaders was indeed praiseworthy. Consequently, a number of presses were set up and journals, tracts and weeklies began to pour out. Sikh organisations like Chief Khalsa Dewan and Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee also began to maintain libraries. The Sikh Reference Library established by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, which preserved the old and the new records, was the most substantial archives.

One of the most deplorable acts of the 'Operation Bluestar' in the

Golden Temple complex from 4th to 7th June 1984 is the destruction of the treasure-house of the Sikh scriptures and Sikh records preserved in the Sikh Reference Library housed on the first floor of entrance (*deohri*)¹ to the *parkarmā* (circumambulatory path) on the Atta Mandi side of the Golden Temple. The library fell a victim to the Army action in the Temple on 6th-7th June, 1984.² The idea of establishing a Sikh Reference Library can be traced to year 1929 when Sikh History Research Board was constituted by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. Meanwhile, Sikh Historical Society had been established in Lahore with the efforts of Bawa Budh Singh Bhalla in 1930. But the society could not fulfil the requirements of a Research Library. However, it was only after a span of fifteen years that the Sikh scholars and historians came to the forefront. A meeting was held in Khalsa College, Amritsar, on the occasion of the visit of Princess Bamba (the last successor of Maharaja Duleep Singh) on February 10, 1945.³ The foundation of the Sikh History Society, Amritsar, was announced.⁴

1. The *deohri* (entrance gate) was constructed by Sant Bhuriwalé under the *kār sewā* of the new *parkarmā* (circumambulatory) scheme to impart uniformity to the architectural design of the outer *parkarmā*. The building was constructed after independence. The *deohri* comprised one of the four main entrance gates to the Golden Temple.
2. Opinions vary on the date of the destruction of the Sikh Reference Library. The controversy surrounding the destruction of the Library is unfortunate indeed. While the Army claims that it caught fire on the morning of 6th June, 1984, when fighting was in progress. The temple *sewadārs* and *granthīs* present during the operation maintain that the Sikh Reference Library was set on fire on 7th June, 1984. (The eye witness include Hardit Singh, a *Hazuri Ragi* of Sri Darbar Sahib, *Jathedar* Kirpal Singh, Head Priest of Sri Akal Takhat, Giani Puran Singh, *Granthi* of Sri Darbar Sahib and Devinder Singh Duggal, Research Scholar, Sikh History Research Board and in charge Sikh Reference Library.)
For verification see *White Paper on the Punjab Agitation*, issued by the Government of India and Lt. Gen. J.S. Aurora's article 'Assault on the Golden Temple Complex' in *The Punjab Story*, Pub. Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1984, p. 95.
3. See Ganda Singh's 'Annual Report of Sikh History Society, dated 5th May, 1949' in *Itihasak Patre, Sainchi I, Ank 1*, Baisakh, Jeth, Harh, 2006 B.K., 1949 A.D., Pub. Sikh History Society, Amritsar, p. 9.
4. The Society was an autonomous body. It received financial aid from the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. The members of its managing Committee were: Prof. Teja Singh, Bawa Prem Singh, Professor Gurmukh Nihal

[Continued on page 174]

Now the Sikh organisation realised the urgency of establishing a Reference Library. Consequently, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee in its meeting held on March 10, 1945 under the presidentship of *Jathedar* Mohan Singh chalked out a programme for the next six years. The third resolution of the meeting was to establish a full-fledged Reference Library to promote research in the Sikh History. It was also decided to make arrangements for publications of new books on Sikh History.⁵ Subsequently, the Sikh Reference Library came into existence on February 9, 1947.⁶ Sardar Randhir Singh, the Gurdwara Inspector extended his full support in the organisation of the library. Originally the Sikh Reference Library was housed in the Hall No. 4 of *Guru Ram Dass Sarai*.

In establishing the Sikh Reference Library, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee had kept two aims in view viz., to collect source material on Sikh history and to provide facility of its consultation to scholars working on Sikh history. It was proposed to be a reference library only and the manuscripts and books kept here were not to be issued or lent out.⁷ No doubt, the scope of the collection of Sikh Reference Library remained confined to source material on Sikh religion and Sikh history, but in order to have a better understanding of Sikhism and its Indian context books on other religions, communities and religious groups were also procured for the benefit of readers visiting the library.

The collection of the treasure-house of historical material preserved in the Sikh Reference Library was the achievement of strenuous efforts on the part of institution and certain individuals. The name of Dr Ganda Singh, the doyen of the Punjab historians, is the foremost in this respect. The material collected from various places of the Punjab

Continued from page 173)

Singh, Bawa Harikishan Singh and Prof. Ganda Singh. As the society had limited funds at its disposal evidently it was not equipped with resources to organise a reference library.

5. For full details of the meeting see Sardar Shamsher Singh Ashok's *Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee dā Panjāh Sālā Itihās* (1926-1976), Pub. by Sikh Itihas Research Board, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, 1982, p. 222.

6. See Ganda Singh (ed.), *Suchi Patre Panjābī Gurmukhī Pustakān Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, Part-I, 1950*, foreward.

7. *Ibid.*

(including the West Pakistan) was placed here. Subsequently, new material including manuscripts, documents, photographs, rare books, paintings, blocks of paintings of historical events and Sikhs heroes, and files of old news papers were also added to the collection. The Sikh Reference Library was equipped with the rarest manuscripts. Copies of many valuable manuscripts from different collection in India transcribed in elegant calligraphy were kept here.⁸ Many of these manuscripts were the works of unknown or lesser known authors.⁹ Majority of them were the Hindu authors. Out of these manuscripts half the stock belonged to Panjabi, one third to Braj and the rest comprised Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit, Rajasthani, etc.

From its very inception the Sikh Reference Library had been designed to facilitate researchers and historians and to help scholars to locate items relating to their special interests covering the wider perspective of the Sikh studies.¹⁰ Research scholars, men of letters, teachers, students, journalists, politicians and general readers used to visit the library for their individual requirements. The academic and educational potentials of the library can easily be judged from the source material (in manuscript form) preserved here pertaining to Religion, Literature, Theology, Philosophy, Rhetoric, Poetics, Epic, Mythology, Ethics, Grammar, Music, Indian System of medicine, Surgery, Astrology and Astronomy.¹¹ A number of research scholars have worked on these manuscripts and have obtained Ph. D. degrees for their theses. These manuscripts and books preserved in the Sikh Reference Library covered the range of language groups from Sanskrit, Braj, Rajasthani, Panjabi, Sindhi, Assami, Bangla, Persian, Arabic, Urdu, English and French.

The Sikh Reference Library remained housed in Guru Ram Das

8. A Descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts kept in the Sikh Reference Library, Sri Guru Ram Das Library and Central Sikh Museum was prepared by Sardar Shamsher Singh Ashok. The catalogue was published in 1968, by the Sikh Itihas Research Board, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, under the title '*Sādā hath likhat Panjābī Sahitaya*.'
9. Sardar Shamsher Singh Ashok, the author of '*Sādā hath likhat Panjābī Sahitaya*', has listed names of 176 writers in this context. Out of this list names of unknown or lesser known authors are given in Appendix 'A.'
10. For specific information on details of the manuscripts and books preserved in the Sikh Reference Library see Appendix 'B.'
11. For general information on the subject index of these manuscripts see Appendix 'C.'

Sarai upto 1958. As the space of the hall No. 4 had a limited stack area, the Sikh Reference Library was shifted to a bigger accommodation to its present location in the Golden Temple Complex. The building accommodation of the Sikh Reference Library consisted of a big hall and two small rooms. The main hall of the Library was named after Bhai Santokh Singh, a poet historian of the nineteenth century.

The staff of the Sikh Reference Library is appointed by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. The staff consists of five members including In charge Librarian, Research Scholar (who is also in charge of the Sikh History Research Board), a typist (vacant) and two *sewādārs*. At present Mr. Balbir Singh holds the post of the Librarian, Mr. Devinder Singh Duggal is the Research Scholar and Sardar Hardip Singh and Sardar Balwinder Singh are the *sewādārs* of the Library. The staff has been provided with residential facility in the Temple complex.

The Sikh Reference Library is financed by its patron Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.¹² Every year the Sikh, Research Board spends an amount of Rs. 10,000/- for the purchase of books for the Sikh Reference Library. According to S.S. Amol, In charge, Sikh Itihas Research Board, the total number of books collected in the Sikh Reference Library was 12,500 books (including hundreds of rare and valuable manuscripts) in the year 1982. However, opinions vary on the total number of the manuscripts and books stocked in the Sikh Reference Library. It is estimated that the stock of Sikh Reference Library had approximately 20,000 books and manuscripts.¹³

II

The above mentioned rich treasure-house of learning preserved in the Sikh Reference Library has come to be destroyed during the military action at the Golden Temple. The loss includes 1500 valuable rare manuscript copies of the *Ādi Granth* (including the copy of *Kartārpur-vālī bir*), *Mangat vālī Khārī bir*, *Damdāmī bir* dated B.K. 1739 and *Bhai Hardās' bir* with the *Mūlmantra* scribed by Guru Tegh Bahadur ji), *Dasam Granth* a score of *Nisān te Hukamnāmīs* (some of them bearing

12. The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee has earmarked Rs. 80,000 for Sikh History Research Board in its annual Budget. The Annual Budget of Sikh History Research Board for 1981-82 was Rs. 1,79,000/-.

13. See Appendix 'E.'

14. For full details see Appendix 'D.'

the signatures of the Sikhs Gurus), various versions of *Rahatnāmās*¹⁵ and *Sākhīs* and *Janamsākhīs* (some of them were illustrated with beautiful miniatures), about 500 manuscript copies of commentaries and indexes on *Gūru Granth Sāhib*, rare manuscripts of *Bhagat Bānī* (like that of *Sein Bhagat dī banī*, *Poṭhī Mahān Sundar Sachiār kī*, *Parchiān Bhagtān kiān*, Biddhi Das' *Bhagat Sudhāśar*, Kavi Jassa Singh's *Bhagat Premākār*), Sikh documents, photographs of *Hukamnāmās* (of Guru Hargobind, Guru Tegh Bahadur, Baba Gurditta, Guru Gobind Singh, Mata Gujari, Mata Sundari and Mata Sahib Devi), paintings of Bhai Bidhi Chānd, Baba Gurditta, Baba Jawahir Singh Dhirmalia, photographs of the miniatures of Sikh *Gurūs*, *Bhagtas* (Kabir, Jai Dev, Trilochan, Dhanna, Beni, Mira and Rāmanand),¹⁶ photographs of Maharaja Duleep Singh and his family, photographs of Maharaja Duleep Singh's correspondence,¹⁷ photographs of correspondence related to Maharani Jindan, photographs of the *farmāns* (royal orders) of Maharaja Duleep Singh addressed to some feudal Chiefs of Lahore, photographs of Native Indian Chiefs, photographs of Princess Bamba's visit to Khalsa College, Amritsar, photographs of historical events and Sikh personalities, photographs of the first and last folios of a manuscript of *Guru Granth Sahib* dated 1711 B.K., photographs of the coins of Sikh chiefs from R.C. Temples' collection.¹⁸ Records of the Akali Movement, Gurdwara Reforms Movement, Akali Morchas,¹⁹

15. A collection of the selected text from six different manuscripts of the *Rahitnāmās* (Sikh code of conduct) was prepared by Sardar Shamsher Singh Ashok, Research Scholar, Sikh History Research Board, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar. The edited version was cyclostyled under the title *Gurū Khālsa de Rahitnāme* by Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee for its circulation in October 1979.
16. Miniatures of these Bhagtas in *pahārī kalam* are preserved in the Shish Mahal Museum, Patiala.
17. For full details of the text of Maharaja Duleep Singh's correspondence see, Ganda Singh (ed.), *History of the Freedom Movement in the Punjab*, Vol. III, *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, Pub. by Deptt. of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972.
18. For full details see Ganda Singh (ed.), *Sūchi Purātan Khardiān (hash likhat Panjābi Pustakān di Sikh Reference Library)*, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, July 1957.
19. On the documentary evidence of this record hundreds of volunteers who participated in the Akali Morchas (Gurdwara Nankana Sahib, Guru Ka Bagh, Bhai Pheru, Gangsar Jaito, etc.) were awarded pensions by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.

Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Punjabi Suba Agitation; files of old news papers. Manuscripts of some of the significant research projects (under publication) viz., *Panth Prakāsh* (Ratan Singh Bhangu), *Bandā Bahādūr* (Karam Singh historian) and *Srī Gūrā Granth Sāhib dīān hath likhat Bīrān dā Iithās* (Shamsher Singh Ashok) were also kept here. All these valuable sources of information gutted along with its furniture.²⁰ Not even a book has survived the holocaust. Only a small bits of burnt index cards and a heap of junk shelves, cupboards and steel almirahs are the remains of the Sikh Reference Library. The walls and floor of the building were charred and chips of cement plaster blown off. The damage of the Librasy, its contents, furniture and building amounts to millions of rupees. The damaged building of the *deohrī* housing the Sikh Reference Library has been repaired now.²¹ But the academic and cultural loss of Library is irreparable. The Sikhs in particular and the country in general have lost a rich store-house of archival material. The Sikh reaction at this academic loss is beyond expression.²² The tragedy is that the Sikh psyche is deeply hurt at the sacrilege of their scriptural and religious texts preserved in the Sikh Reference Library. We hardly find any comparison to the episode of cultural destruction in Indian History. Even the autocrat, militant and orthodox Muslim rulers of Turkish period refrained from such actions.²³ However, a parallel can be found in the Cultural Revolution in China when centres of old Chinese culture and learning were destroyed mercilessly in the early seventies of this century.

Whatever the outcome of the historical criticism of the 'Operation Bluestar' it is unlikely that the Punjab historians are going to spare

20. For full details see Appendix 'E.'

21. Even a casual glance at the side domes of the *deohrī* would reveal the fact that details of the old architectural pattern could not be restored by the repair done through the government.

22. I regret to say that the saddest part of the tragedy of the Sikh Reference Library is that the Sikh History Research Board had paid scant attention to the preservation of the records kept here. To store this valuable source material for the benefit of the future students of history at least microfilming and photostats should have been done and deposited in safe vaults at other places.

23. It is recorded by the medieval historians that Firuz Tughlaq during his invasion of Nagarkot, Kangra (1365 A.D.) ruled by the Hindu Rai, Rup Chand, took every care not to damage Sanskrit Library housed within the precincts of the Jwalamukhi Temple. The Sultan was filled with admiration when he found such a rich collection of 1300 volumes of old manuscripts on various subjects. He

[Continued on page 179]

the military action its responsibility for destroying the Sikh Archives.

These are not personal reflections on the loss of a community but the observations of a student of history. The historian has always been close to his particular age and even the most detached researcher holds to presuppositions which are deeply intertwined with the basis assumption of his age. Such critical self-awareness would reveal to the historian the truth that Buckle long ago noted in his *History of Civilisation in England*. "There must always be a connexion between the way in which men contemplate the past, and the way in which they contemplate the present ; both views being in fact different forms of the same habit of thought and, therefore, presenting in each age a certain sympathy and correspondence with each other."²⁴ The Sikh historians' response to the archival loss is that of deep concern even though the State may find their attitude uncomfortable. But as long as society seeks knowledge of the past the historian must accept his responsibility to society, i.e., his task to reconstruct the past. We know that knowledge of the past may help to reveal the meaning of human experience and that the recollection of the past may harden our resolutions and confirm our vision in the struggle of the present.

Continued from page 178]

ordered his army for the safe transportation of the stock of the Sanskrit works to his capital. After the conquest, when Firuz Tughlq returned to Delhi, he selected a number of important manuscripts related to philosophy, astrology and other sciences and got it translated into Persian. Out of which two gained immense popularity viz., *Phalit Jyotish* (astronomy) and *Pasū Chakitsā* (animal husbandary). The famous Persian writer of the age Issa-ud-Din Khalid Khani, translated into Persian verse one of the books on the rising and setting of seven planets, their good and evil import, auguries and omen. (See Firishta Mulla Mohad Hindu Shah, *Tārīkh-i-Firishtā*, Vol. 1, Eng. tr. Briggs, Calcutta, 1980, pp. 454-62); as referred in *A Comprehensive History of India* (in twelve volumes), Vol. V, *The Delhi Sultanat* (A. D. 1206-1526), ed. K. A. Nizami, Pub. Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, Reprint, 1982, p. 594, see also *The History and Culture of the Indian People: The Delhi Sultanat*, ed., R. C. Majumdar, Pub. Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay; second edition, 1967, p. 101). The translation was named after the Sultan and called *Dalāl-i-Firoz Shāhī*. Badayunī read it in 1591-92 at Lahore and was moderately impressed (See, in 1591-92 at Lahore and was moderately impressed (see, R. C. Jauhari, *Firuz Tughlaq*, Shiv Lal Agarwal and Co., Agra, 1963, pp. 72-5).

24. Fritz Stern (ed.), *The Varieties of History From Voltaire to the Present*, Mac-Millan and Co. Ltd., Second edition, Chaucer Press, Bungay Suffolk, Great Britain, 1970, Introduction, p. 15.

The task of the historian is very difficult in the present shifting conditions under which the affairs of the Punjab are moving. The tragic experiences of the 'Operation Bluestar' have a profound unsettling effect on the Sikh community and some of the basic presuppositions do not seem adequate to be discussed here.

The destruction of Sikh Reference Library (as well as the records of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee kept in the Samundari Hall) may have a profound, lasting impact on Sikh historians. To have lived through all this could not but effect their historical imagination. As Niebuhr recognised, "when a historian is reviving former times, his interest in them and sympathy with them will be the deeper, greater the events he has witnessed with a bleeding or rejoicing heart."²⁵ The historian must serve two masters the past and the present. But the past must always claim his first loyalty, he must accept the fact that the choices he makes as a historian are not of consequences to him alone, but will affect the moral sense and the wisdom of his generation. This is a serious task, as he deals with men and their lives in society, both past and present. We are aware of the fact that the socio-psychic factor is the most determining factor in history. This is exemplified in the historians treatment of motivation behind each historical events and actions. According to G. M. Young, "the essential matter of history is not what happened what people thought and said about it..."²⁶

The 'Operation Bluestar' has forcibly lifted Sikh history out of its protected shelf. This apparent break with the past tradition has compelled the Sikhs to reconstruct their archives. The problem here is a moral issue. The lesson of the tragedy is to create more secure methods and places of preservation of Sikh Archives.

One of the serious problem confronting the Sikh community at present is how to restore the lost-repository of Sikh literature, what are the possibilities of tracing out sources to recover copies of the manuscripts, documents and rare books destroyed in the bonfire of the army action in the Golden Temple, which institutions, libraries and individuals are to be contacted and tapped for the recovery of copies of the lost material?²⁷ It is the duty of research institutions

25. Ibid., p. 18.

26. Ibid., p. 23.

27. For possible sources to be tapped for procuring the lost material preserved in the Sikh Reference Library a suggestive list has been given in Appendix 'F.'

and individual scholars working on the socio-cultural history to give a serious thought to this problem. It is the purpose of this article to appeal to scholars, historians, students and institutions interested in Sikh studies to explore possibilities for procuring source material for the reconstruction of Sikh Reference Library with a devoted zeal.

APPENDIX 'A'

List of the unknown or lesser known one hundred and thirty five authors poets whose works were preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar.

Amir Das, Amrit Chand, Amrit Rai, Anand Ram, Anant Das, Anant Ghan, Baba Darbara Singh Nirankari, Baba Shayam Singh, Badan Kavi, Bahu Brahman, Basant Singh Rituraj, Bawa Tola Singh Bhalla, Beni Madhav Bodala, Bhagwan Dass Niranjani, Bhagwati Nand, Bhai Megh Singh, Bhai Narain Singh, Bhopat Rai Began, Bhupat (Kavi), Bidhi Dass Udasi (Bhai), Bikram Singh, Bishan Singh, Bishan Singh Amritsari, Bodh Mirgind, Braham Parkash Udasi, Buddha Singh Sodhi, Chajju Bhagat, Chanda Singh, Chand Kavi, Chauppa Singh, Chayakar, Dana, Dal Singh, Dayal Anemi, Dayal Singh, Deva Singh, Devi Das, Deva Singh Nirmala, Dayal Singh, Gang Chatur Das, Giāni Daya Singh, Gian Singh Amritsari, Gopal Das Gowel, Gopal Singh, Gopal Singh Navin, Gulab Singh Kavi, Gurdas Guni, Gurdas Singh, Gurdit Singh, Hakam, Hakumat Rai, Hans Raj, Hari Charan Dass, Harinam Rai, Hari Rai, Hari Ram Das Niranjani, Hira Das, Jai Krishan Bhojag, Jan Kavi, Jang Nath, Jassa Singh (Kavi), Jhira Das, Jodh Singh Tahkan, Kavi Bansi, Kavi Budh Singh, Kavi Dal Singh, Kavi Ran Chand, Kavi Sunder Das, Kavi Tahir, Khazan Singh, Khushal Rai, Kirpa Ram, Kirat Singh, Kishor Das, Krishan Das, Krishan Dev, Krishna Lal, Krishna Lal Kalanidh, Kuvaresh, Lal Singh Das, Madan Singh, Mall Bhatt, Mani Singh Shahced, Maru Das, Manohar Das Niranjani, Mattu Ram, Miha Singh, *Subedar* Mir Hasan, Mohan Kavi, Najir, Nand Dass, Nar Singh, Nihal Singh Nirmala, Priya Das, Raja Ram Duggal, Ram Das, Ram Krishan *Sewapanthi*, Ram Prasad *Niranjani*, Ram Shayam, Ram Singh Tapia, Randhir Singh, Ram Singh Bedi, Ras Paunj, Sada Ram, Sadhu Golab Das, Sadhu Jan, Sadhu Takhat Singh Chatewale, Sadhu Vali Ram, Sahaj Singh, Sahib Singh, Sahib Singh Mirgind (*Bhai*), Sant Bakshish Singh Nirmala, Sant Das Chhibar, Sant Das Tapasi, Sant Nihal Singh,

Sant Panch Mirgind, Sant Singh, Sant Singh Giani, Sarbansi, Saundha Kavi, Sein Bhagat, Sewa Ram, Addanshahi, Sodhi Hari ji, Sodhi Meraban, Sri Niwas Udasi, Sri Pat, Sukhdayal, Sukhpati, Sultan Ahmad, Sunder Das, Sunder Das *mahankavi*, Surat Misar, Surjan Das, Swami Atam Sarup, Tan Sukh Lahori and Thira Das.

Appendix 'B'

Book Lists and Catalogues of the Sikh Reference Library

Following book-lists and catalogues of the Manuscripts and books in various languages preserved in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, were published by the Sikh History Society, the Sikh History Research Board and Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar.

1. *Suchi Pattar, Panjābī (Gurmukhī) Pustakān, Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, Part-I*, Ed. by Ganda Singh, pub. by Sikh History Society, Amritsar, December 1950 (Panjabi).
2. *Suchi Pattar, Panjābī (Gurmukhī) Pustakān, Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, Part-II*, Ed. by Ganda Singh, pub. by Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, July 1957 (Panjabi).
3. *Suchi Purātan Khardiān (hath likhit Panjābī Pustakān) dī, Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar*, Ed. by Ganda Singh, Pub. by Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, July 1957 (Panjabi).
4. *Fahrisat Kitāb Urdu, Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar*, pub. by Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, July 1957, (Persian Script).
5. *Fahrisat Barāi Kutab Phārsī wā Arbī, Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar*, pub. by Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, January 1958 (Persian Script).
6. *Catalogue of English Books, Part-I and II, Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar*, Ed. by Ganda Singh, pub. by Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar (English).
7. *Suchi Hindī and Sanskrit Pustakon kī, Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar*, pub. by Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, March 1958 (Devnagari).
8. *Sādā hath Likhat Panjabī Sāhīt* (Descriptive Catalogue of the manuscripts kept in Sikh Reference Library, Sri Guru Ram Das Library and Central Sikh Museum, Amritsar), Ed. by Sardar Shamsher Singh Ashok, pub. Sikh Itihas Research Board, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, 1968 (Panjabi).

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The book lists of the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar, were also published in the following issues of the *Itihāsak Pattar* of 1950 :

- (i) *Itihāsak Pattar, Sainchī 1, Ank 4, Māgh, Phālgun, Chetar, 1950*, Ed. by Ganda Singh, Pub. by Sikh History Society, Amritsar.
This *Itihāsak Pattar* contains 'Sūchi Pattar Pānjabī (Gurmukhī) Pustakan' of Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar.
- (ii) *Itihāsak Pattar, Sainchī 2, Ank 2, Sāwan, Bhādran, Assū, 1950*, Ed. by Ganda Singh, Pub. by Sikh History Society, Amritsar.
This *Itihāsak Pattar* contains 'Author Index and Subject Index of the Panjabi books of the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar.
- (iii) *Itihāsak Pattar, Sainchī 2, Ank 3, Kārtik, Maghar, Poh, 1950*, Ed. by Ganda Singh, Pub. by Sikh History Society, Amritsar. This *Itihāsak Pattar* contains 'Catalogue of English Books, Part I' of Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar.
- (iv) *Itihāsak Pattar, Sainchī 3, Ank 2, Sāwan, Bhādran, Assu 1951*, Ed. by Ganda Singh, Pub. by Sikh History Society, Amritsar.
This *Itihāsak Pattar* contains 'Catalogue of English Books, Part II' of Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar.

Appendix 'C'

Tentative subject index of the manuscripts preserved in the Sikh Reference Library

For general information the manuscripts kept in the Sikh Reference Library can be classified into following subjects :

- (1) *Srutī* (2) *Samritī* (3) *Vedānt* (4) *Yog Darshan* (5) *Nāya* (6) *Indian Philosophy* (7) *Ramāyan Sāhitaya* (8) *Mahabharat* and *Puran Sahitaya* (9) *Krishna Sāhitaya* (10) *Sant Sāhitaya* (11) *Gurbānī* (12) *Bhagat Bānī* (13) *Sikh Sāhitaya* (14) *Gurparanālīān* (Genealogies of Sikh Gurus) (15) *Gurmahimā* and *Gurupmā* (anthologies) (16) *Sākhīs, Janamsākhīs* and related literature (17) Literature attributed to Guru Gobind Singh (18) Works of Bhai Nand Lal (19) *Gurbilās* literature (20) *Mahimā Parkāsh* literature (21) *Panth Parkāsh* literature (22) *Sihārfī* literature (23) *Udāsī* literature (24) *Nirmalā* literature (25) *Nirankarī* literature (26) Literature related to *Meharbān* sect (27) Literature realted to *Gulābdasī* sect (28) Literature related to *sewāpanthīs* (29) *Kissā Sāhitaya* (30) Poetics (31) *Ritī granths* (32) *Alankār* (allegories) (33) *Chant Sāstra* (34) *Nauras* (35) *Nātak* (drama) (36) *Nītī Sikhayā* (ethics) (37) *Sabad Kos* (encyclopaedia) (38) *Sangeet Sāstra* (Indian Music) (32) Geography

(40) *Viyakaran* (grammar and prosody) (41) *Chakitsa* and *Vaidhak* (Indegenous system of Medicine and Surgery) (42) *Pasū Chakitsā* (animal husbandry) (43) *Jyotish* (astrology) (44) *Mantra Sāstra* and *tāntrik sāhitaya* (45) Miscellaneous.*

Appendix, 'D'

Details of *Nīsāns* and *Hukamnāmās* kept in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar.

In 1960 the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee sent Sardar Randhir Singh, Research Scholar, Sikh History Research Board to search out *Nīsān* and *Hukamnāmās* of Sikh Gurus from the provinces of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and other regions. He toured through these provinces from 1960-63 and procured a number of photographs of the original *Nīsāns* and *Hukamnāmās*. Photographs of some *Hukamnāmās* were already in the collection of the Sikh Reference Library. Probably these were collected in the year 1952-53. Then the editing of these *Nīsāns* and *Hukamnāmās* were assigned to Sardar Shamsheer Singh Ashok, the new Research Scholar of Sikh History Research Board. The work was completed in 1962. The collection was published under the title *Nīsān te Hukamnāmā* by the Sikh History Research Board, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, 1967. There are 29 *Nīsāns* and *Hukamnāmās* in this collection. Details of which are given below :

Nīsān

Guru Arjan Dev-2
Guru Hargobind-2
Guru Har Rai-3
Guru Hari Krishan-1
Guru Tegh Bahadur-7
Guru Gobind Singh-14
Total-29

Hukamnāme

Guru Hargobind-3
Baba Gurditta-1
Guru Har Krishan-1
Guru Tegh Bahadur-30
Guru Gobind Singh-31
Mata Gujari-1
Mata Sundari-9
Mata Sahib Devi-8
Banda Bahadur-2
Baba Sahib Singh Bedi-1
Sri Takhat Sahiban-4
Total-91

A considerable number of these historical documents were preserved

* The above Appendix is an attempt to prepare a plausible subject index of the manuscripts, books and other source material preserved in the Sikh Reference Library. The information has been derived from the printed lists and catalogues of the books and manuscripts preserved in the Sikh Reference Library.

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in original in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar (a few in the Central Sikh Museum also). All these records of valuable historical evidence have been destroyed in the army action in the Golden Temple complex. Besides the above mentioned *Nīsāns* and *Hukamnāmās*, samples of calligraphy of *Dasam Granth* (two folios) prepared by the scribes of Guru Gobind Singh's *Darbār* (shown at serial Nos. 119-20 in *Nīsān te Hukamnāmē*) were also preserved in original in the Sikh Reference Library, Amritsar.

Note : A collection of *Hukamnāmās* has also been published by Ganda Singh with an introduction elaborating the historical background of these documents. See *Hukamnāmīe*, Ed., by Ganda Singh, pub. by Punjabi University, Patiala, 1967.

Appendix 'E'

Details of the approximate damage of the books, manuscripts, rare books and other articles of the Sikh Reference Library

	Number	Price
1. Books	20,000*	20,00,000
2. <i>Bīrs</i> of <i>Srī Guru Granth Sahib</i> (Mss.)	250	Priceless
3. Manuscripts related to Sikh Gurus, Sikh traditions and religious texts.	500	"
4. Files of old and new Newspapers and periodicals	120	"
5. Rare Books/Documents/articles (typed copies)	200	"
6. Photostat copies of <i>Hukamnāmās</i> and Sikh relics, Sikh paintings, Albums and photographs.	120	"
7. Almirahs (Steel & Wooden)	100	1,25,000
8. Book racks (steel & wooden)	50	50,000
9. Chairs (steel and wooden)	50	10,000
10. Tables	50	15,000
11. Typewriters	3	12,000
12. Rare paintings of Sikh personalities and blocks.	250	50,000
Total :		22,62,000†

* Opinion differ on the total number of printed books preserved in the Sikh Reference Library.

† The above information has been derived from *Pānjabi Digest*, New Delhi, September 1984, p.21.

Appendix ' F '

List of possible sources for procuring copies of the manuscripts, rare books and other records preserved in the Sikh Reference Library

A. Indian Libraries

1. National Archives of India, New Delhi (for English sources and official records).
2. National Library, Calcutta (for English and Persian sources).
3. Punjab State Archives, Patiala (for English, Persian and Sikh sources and official records).
4. Punjabi University Library, Patiala (for Panjabi manuscripts and Sikh literature).
5. Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid's collection, Punjabi University, Patiala (for files of old tracts, pamphlets and Sikh literature, the collection has been transferred to Punjabi University, Library, Patiala).
6. Moti Bagh Palace Library, Patiala (for Panjabi manuscripts and Sikh sources).
7. Central Public Library, Patiala (for Persian manuscripts and English sources).
8. Personal Library of Dr Ganda Singh, Lower Mall, Patiala (for Persian manuscripts, Sikh historical sources, Sikh records, Tracts, Journals, News Papers and English sources). Also consult his *A Bibliography of the Panjab*, pub. by Punjabi University, Patiala, 1967.
9. Personal Library of Prof. Pritam Singh, Lower Mall, Patiala (for Panjabi manuscripts, *Kissa* literature, Sikh literature, Journals and old News Papers).
10. Languages Department of Punjab Government, Patiala (for Panjabi, Braj and Sanskrit manuscripts and early European sources).
11. Bhai Takht Singh Library, Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala, Ferozepur (for Sikh literature, Tracts, Journals and News Papers).
12. The Christian Institute of Sikh Studies, Baring Union Christian College, Batala (for English sources and modern publications).
13. Sikh History Research Library, Khalsa College, Amritsar (for Persian sources, Sikh literature and Sikh records).

14. Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar (manuscript Section and Rare Books Section, for Panjabi manuscripts and Sikh literature).
15. Personal Library of Dr Kirpal Singh, Head, University Library, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar (for information regarding Punjabi manuscripts).
16. Personal Library of Dr Kulwant Singh, Head, Deptt. of Punjabi, Khalsa College, Amritsar (for information regarding Punjabi manuscripts).
17. Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar (for Sikh records).
18. Dr Balbir Singh Sahitaya Kendra, 20, Pritam Singh Road, Dehradun (for Sikh scripture, commentaries, Panjabi manuscripts, Sikh literature, Tracts, Pamphlets, Journals of Sikh historical sources).
19. Personal Library of S. Shamsher Singh Ashok, V& P.O. Guara, via Banbhaura, Distt. Sangrur (for Persian, Panjabi, Braj and Sanskrit sources, Sikh literature and religious literature. The collection has been recently transferred to Punjabi University Library, Patiala).

B. Foreign Libraries

1. Punjabi Public Library Lahore (for Persian, Sanskrit and Panjabi manuscripts, English sources, Government Records, Catalogues and Sikh coins).
2. India Office and British Museum London* (for Persian, Panjabi Braj and Sanskrit manuscripts, early Sikh literature, tracts, Journals, old Newspapers, English sources and Government Records).
3. Personal Library of Dr W.H. McLeod. The University of Otago, Dunedin, Newzealand and (for Sikh literature and English sources).
4. Personal Library of Dr N. Gerald Barrier, University of Missouri, Columbia, U.S.A. (for Sikh literature and English sources).

*The fundamental guides to the early Sikh material in the India Office Library are the Blumhardt Catalogues arranged by subject with author, title, indexes. See, J. F. Blumhardt, *Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*, Vol. II, Hindustani Books, London, 1900; *Catalogue of Hindustani Books*, London, 1889; *Supplementary Catalogue of Hindustani Books*, 1889-1908. London, 1909; *Catalogue of Hindi, Punjabi, Sindhi and Pushto Books*, London, 1893; *Supplementary Hindi Catalogue* 1893-1912, London, 1913; also *The British Museum, A Supplementary Catalogue*, London, 1961; besides printed guides to the Hindi and Panjabi collection are also available.

Sikandar Jinnah Pact : Genesis And Motives [15-16 October, 1937]

DR Y. P. BAJAJ*

During the 25th session of the All-India Muslim League, held in Lucknow, two retrogressive agreements—Sikandar-Jinnah Pact (15-10-1937) and Sikandar-Haq Pact (16-10-1937), were made. *De facto* these constitute one alignment due to the similarity of their terms. Provisions of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, as approved by the All India Muslim League 'amidst thunderous cheers' were :¹

(a) That on his return to the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan will convene a special meeting of his party and advise all Muslim members of the party who are not members of the Muslim League already, to sign its creed and join it. As such they will be subject to the rules and regulations of the Central Provincial Board of the All-India Muslim League. This will not affect the continuance of the present coalition of the Unionist Party.

(b) That in future elections and bye-elections for the legislature, after the adoption of this agreement, the groups constituting the present Unionist Party will jointly support candidates put up by their respective groups.

(c) That the Muslim members of the legislature who are elected on or accept the League ticket, will constitute the Muslim League Party within the legislature. It shall be open to Muslim League so formed to maintain or enter into a coalition or alliance with any other party consistent with the fundamental principles of the policy and programme of the League. Such an alliance may be evolved before or after the elections. The existing combination shall maintain its present name, the 'Unionist Party.'

(d) In view of the aforesaid agreement, the Provincial League

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1. *The Tribune*, Lahore, 16-10-1937, Sir Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana, 'The 1937 Elections and the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact,' published in *the Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. X, Part II (Patiala, October 1976) (hereafter quoted as 'the 1937 Elections...'), pp. 372-73; Nair, Lajpat Rai—*Sikandar Hayat Khan* (Lahore, 1942), p. 57; Khaliquzzman, Choudhry, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore, 1961), p. 171.

Parliamentary Board shall be reconstituted.

Next day Bengal Premier, Fazl-ul-Haq, the leader of the Krishak Praja Party, announced that he would advise every Musalman to join the League.² In a statement to the Associated Press³ he added: "As there did not appear to be any conflict between the programme of the Praja Party and that of the Muslim League in any way, there could be no objection to Muslim members of his party joining the Muslim League and taking part in its activities for the advancement of the community and the country as a whole."

At the outset it may be stated that Sikandar-Jinnah Pact was not merely an understanding as observed by some authors.⁴ Against it, Malik Barkat Ali, M.L.A. (Muslim League) and an advocate of Lahore and Ghulam Rasul Khan, Bar-at-law, Secretary Punjab Provincial League, mentioned in their press statements⁵ that under the authority of the All-India Muslim League Council the terms of the agreement were jointly drafted by Barkat Ali and Sir Sikandar. Ghulam Rasul added: "The agreement so drafted was approved by the council of the All India Muslim League." Further, Sir Khizr Hayat Khan, Punjab Premier from 1943-1946, clearly writes⁶ "the late Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan,⁷ who had been playing a prominent (role) as a mediator, took two copies of the draft to Mr. M.A. Jinnah's (President of Muslim League) room late on the night of October 14. According to Raja Sahib's personal reminiscences, which have been published after his death, Mr. Jinnah approved the draft, put his signature on one of the two copies and returned to Raja Ghazanfar Ali, keeping the other copy which had been signed by Sir Sikandar with himself."

Sikandar-Jinnah Agreement was not a sudden development either, as observed by late Chaudhari Tika Ram, the then a Parliamentary Secret-

2. *The Tribune*, Lahore, 17-10-1937.

3. *Ibid.*, 19-10-1937.

4. Some commentators of the Pact have observed that though reduced in writing, the Pact did not carry the signature of either Sikandar or Jinnah.

5. *The Tribune*, Lahore, 21-10-1937 and *the Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, 22-10-1937.

6. Khizr Hyat, 'The 1937 Elections...', *op. cit.*, p. 371.

7. He was elected an M. L. A. to the Punjab Legislative Assembly on the Muslim League ticket in the general elections of 1936-37, but immediately after he defected to the Unionist Party.

ary in the Unionist Government.⁸ Chaudhri Khaliquzzman, who played a very prominent role in organising the Lucknow session of the League points out :⁹ "Before coming to Lucknow Mr. Jinnah had already been negotiating for a settlement with Sir Sikandar Hayat...." Advance information in this regard had already been given by Sir Mohammad Iqbal to Jinnah in his letter of 7.5.1937.¹⁰ In fact, Sikandar-Jinnah-Haq alignment had evolved through the preceding eighteen months, that is, since March 1936 when different political parties started making preparations for the ensuring elections under the constitution of 1935.¹¹

In order to know the real motives of the personalities and parties involved in the pact, it would be useful to have some understanding of their political ideologies. Sir Sikandar, a shrewd and a cool-headed statesman, who had 'cultivated the art of sitting on the fence'¹² came from an aristocratic and a loyalist family of the Punjab.¹³ He had been helped by Sir H.D. Craik, in a big way during mid-1920's in building his political career. Craik writes :¹⁴ "Some five or six years after his election to the Legislative Council in 1921, he (Sikandar) came to me and sought my advice on the question whether he should stick to politics or go into business for which he felt ..that he had real capacity.

8. In his book, *Sir Chhotu Ram—An Apostle of Hindu Muslim Unity* (Lahore, 1946), Chaudhri Tika Ram writes that when Sir Sikandar went to the League Session, he had no idea of entering into a pact with the League at that time. The idea developed suddenly while the session was on (p. 55). Ashraf Muhammad (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 55.
9. Khaliquzzman; Chaudhry, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
10. Ashraf Muhammad, *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (Lahore, 1956), pp. 26-7.
11. For example, Congress had opened its election campaign in the Punjab in March 1936. Home Department, Pol. File No. 18/3/1936, p. 15. National Archives of India, Delhi (hereafter cited as N. A. I.) ; also *infra*, fn. 15.
12. Nair, Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
13. His father Nawab Muhammad Hyat Khan was the first Indian to be appointed as an Assistant Commissioner and the first Punjabi to hold the position of a Divisional and Sessions Judge in 1887. On his mother's side, Sikandar was a grand-son of Mian Ghulam Jilani, *Vazir* of Kapurthala State. Sikandar's elder brother, Khan Bahadur Nawab Liaquat Khan, also rose to the position of the Prime Minister of Patiala State during 1930s. Vide 'A wise Statesman' by Diwan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath, contributed to Lajpat Rai Nair's book, *op. cit.*, p. 42; also *The Tribune*, Chandigarh, 8. 7. 1984.
14. Craik, H. D., '*Multis Ille Bonis. Flibis Occidit*,' contributed to Lajpat Rai Nair's book, *op. cit.*, p. 37. H. D. Craik held high positions such as the Finance Member in the Punjab from 1938-1941.

He was then gravely discouraged by what he considered his slow progress in the political arena. He was still a back-bencher. I am glad...I helped to dissuade him from abandoning his political career, by assuring him of my own confidence that he was marked out for high office in the near future...." On a little reflection, one would find that it was a sophisticated way of seeking favour from the foreign bureaucracy for a high office in the government. Sikandar's or Unionists' political goal for India at that time was dominion status.¹⁵ Describing the structure of the Unionist Party after 1937 elections, Dr S. Gopal writes that it was 'dominated by landlords.'¹⁶ How weak was the personality of Sir Sikandar in relation to the Governor is obvious from the facts that even under provincial autonomy he allowed the Governor to preside over the cabinet meeting,¹⁷ and whenever he was away from the capital he left the entire administration in the hands of the Governor.¹⁸

Another partner in his ministry, the Khalsa National Party, led by Sir Sunder Singh Majithia was described in official correspondence as 'a moderate party of Sikh aristocracy and intelligentsia.'¹⁹ Besides, all the partners in the Unionist coalition ministry, including the National Progressive Party,²⁰ led by Raja Narendra Nath, believed in constitutionalism of the pre-1920 era of the national struggle.²¹ In a press statement issued on 1 April 1937, the day when Sikandar's new ministry assumed office, he said that the Punjab electorate had returned to the Provincial Assembly, a sufficiently large number of representatives, who had no faith in "frittering away national energy in the barren field of non-cooperation."²²

Even in 1936, Jinnah stood for the elite politics and constitutional

15. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain's speech on 19.4.1936, while inaugurating the headquarter of the Unionist Party at Lahore. Home Dept. Pol., File No. 18/4/1936, p. 49, N. A. I.; also Lajpat Rai Nair, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

16. Gopal, S., *Jawahar Lal Nehru, A Biography* (Bombay, 1976), p. 224.

17. Diwan Chaman Lal's speech in the Punjab Legislative Assembly on 2 July 1937, *Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. I, pp. 945-46.

18. Pardaman Singh, Presidential Address, Modern Section, 18th Session of the Punjab History Conference held in December 1983 at Patiala, *Proceedings*, p.3.

19. Home Dept. Pol. February 1937, File No. 18/2/37, p. 16, N.A.I. Sir Sunder Singh Majithia, Revenue Minister in Sikandar's cabinet owned the biggest sugar factory in India.

20. Home Dept. Pol. February 1937. File No. 18/2/37, Pol., p. 78.

21. *The Tribune*, Lahore, 22-10-1937.

22. Nair, Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, Appendix-III.

method of the pre-Gandhian period. His idea was to form "an alliance of elite politicians to wrest concessions from the British."²³ He did not subscribe to the method of non-cooperation. In his speech on 12 April 1936 at the 24th session of the Muslim League at Bombay, he explained that an armed revolution was an impossibility while non-cooperation had proved a failure. There was left the method of constitutional agitation.²⁴ It is interesting to note that during the freedom struggle, in spite of his professions of nationalism and commitment to freedom, Jinnah never went to jail.²⁵ Jinnah's politics was based on the unrealistic and obsolete "promise of Lucknow Pact (1916) that the Congress and the League were two communal parties with political objectives and that they could form an equal partnership."²⁶ Even in January 1937, Jinnah said that the League did not believe in assuming a 'non-communal label.'²⁷ The election manifesto of the Muslim League, issued in June 1936, made a special mention of the protection of the religious rights of the Muslims and devising measures for the amelioration of their general condition.²⁸

As regards Fazl-ul-Haq's political ideology it was opportunistic, so far as he wanted to stick to office.²⁹ During the elections of 1936-37, he formed the Krishak Praja Party and made an electoral alliance with Jinnah on the basis that the Muslim members of his party would follow the policies of the Muslim League in all India matters concerning the Muslims. And the members elected on the Muslim League ticket to the Bengal Assembly would join the Praja Party, but alliance proved failure in September 1936.³⁰ Thereafter, in around November, he approached the Congress for help in his election expenses and 'declared himself as a *khadem* of the Congress.'³¹ He severely

23. Gopal, S., *op. cit.*, p. 223.

24. Mitra, N. N., *Indian Annual Registrar, Calcutta* (hereafter abbreviated as I.A.R.), 1936, Vol. I (Calcutta), p. 296.

25. Jawahar Lal Nehru's speech on 9.2.1937 at Bombay, *The Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 10.2.1937.

26. Gopal, S., *loc. cit.*

27. Quoted from *Selected Works of Jawahar Lal Nehru*, Vol. 7, New Delhi, 1976, p. 24, fn. 4.

28. Khaliquzzman, Chaudhri, *op. cit.*, Appendix I.

29. Jawaharlal Nehru's (hereafter quoted as Nehru), speech at Calcutta on 3.5.1937, *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, 4.5.1937.

30. Khizr Hyat, 'The 1937 Elections...', *op. cit.*, p. 365.

31. *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, 4.5.1937.

denunciated Jinnah, but after the election "The Praja Party lost no time in entering into a coalition with the Muslim League for the purpose of capturing authority in the province..."³²

Thus, all the three parties involved in the Sikander-Jinnah-Haq pact had at that time, at least four points common in their political ideologies. Firstly, they did not believe in the non-cooperation and civil disobedience method of the Congress. Secondly, unlike the Congress, struggle for complete independence of India was not their objective. Even though Jinnah stressed his commitment to freedom, but his ideology and ineffective constitutionalism defaced the very essence of it. Thirdly, while the League was a purely communal party the Unionist and Praja Parties were predominantly Muslim organisations. Lastly, all of them stood for separate Muslim representation in the legislatures.

However, the specific motives in this alignment were not the same. About Sikandar's motives, divergent opinions have been expressed. Firstly, as pointed out by Chaudhari Tika Ram, Shahid Ganj Mosque Agitation and the Khaksar Movement had become real dangers to the peace of the Province.³³ The new government, soon after taking office, found itself confronted with the forces of communal fanaticism and violence. During the first four months of provincial autonomy there were seven deaths in the province due to communal riots.³⁴ The communal issues such as music before the mosques, processions, *halal* and *jhatka* were being exploited for political ends.³⁵

Secondly, it has been argued that Sikandar's ministry would have fallen if he had not made the Pact with Jinnah. Muslim League, with its strongholds in the Muslim minority provinces, where Congress ministries had been formed in July 1937, had mobilised Muslim Public opinion for an all-India Muslim front to wrest concessions from the Congress.³⁶ Younger Unionists pressurised Sikandar for a rapprochement with the Muslim League. Champat Rai, Secretary, Congress

32. *The Tribune*, Lahore, 16-10-1936.

33. Tika Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

34. *18 Months of Provincial Autonomy in the Punjab* (Lahore, n.d.), p. 3.

35. See Fortnightly Reports on the situation in the Punjab (hereafter quoted as F.R. Pb.) for the period April 1937 to October 1937. Home Deptt. Poll. Files No. 18.4-10.1937, N.A.I.

36. Phillips and Wain-Wright (ed.), *The Partition of India* (London, 1970), p. 386.

37. Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *The Father and the Daughter—A Political Biography* (Lahore, 1971), p. 165.

Progressive Party, in a statement to the press in October 1937, revealed that about a dozen of Muslim legislators of the Unionist Party had joined Barkat Ali, (M. L. A., Muslim League).³⁸ There also existed a danger that about 25 Muslim Unionist M. L. A's might join the League. Diwan Bahadur Raja Narindra Nath writes that Sikander joined the League because "he thought that his Muslim followers might otherwise desert him."⁴⁰ Thus Sikandar had to safeguard himself against the League who could have posed a real challenge to his ministry.⁴¹

However, it seems that there is a misimpression that before the conclusion of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact, no Muslim member of the Unionist Party held dual membership, or different groups in the Party did not think separately about the interest of their respective communities. While commenting on this Pact, Sir Chhotu Ram observed:⁴² "...it is not for the first time that Muslim Unionists are joining the Muslim League. Many of them were members of the Muslim League previously also and had never ceased to be the members of that body..." On the issue of dual allegiance of the Muslim Unionists, he added, "on purely communal and religious matters, the difficulty is already there as regards the Muslim and non-Muslim members of the Unionist Party itself. But a reasonable solution of this difficulty has been provided in the Unionist creed, which is, adjustment by mutual toleration instead of dictation on the part of either side."⁴³ Even in June 1936, 8 Unionists had been appointed to the Punjab Provincial Council of the Muslim League.⁴⁴ In clause (a) of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact the words that "Sikandar Hayat Khan will...advise all Muslim members of the Party who are not the members of the Muslim League already⁴⁵ to sign its creed and join it" clearly show that even before the conclusion of this Pact some Muslim Unionists were already the members

38. *Daily Herald*, Lahore, 18-10-1937.

39. Pendrel Moon, *Divide and Quit* (London, 1964), pp. 17-39.

40. Raja Narendra Nath, 'A Wise Statesman' in Lajpat Rai Nair, *op. cit.*, p.43.

41. *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, 19-10-1937.

42. Chhotu Ram, 'Sikandar-Jinnah Agreement,' *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, 19-10-1937.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Home Deptt. Poll. File No. 18/6/1936, p. 15; F.R. Pb. for the first half of June 1936.

45. Emphasis added.

of the League. Imran Ali throws useful light on this point when he says that at that time the Unionist Party was faction-ridden, and Sikandar feared that the "Muslim League could overnight become a threat if a rival faction were to join it before he did."⁴⁶ However, there is not much weight in the argument that in making this Pact Sikandar was "lured by all Indian politics for which the League provided a suitable platform."⁴⁷ His biographer, Lajpat Rai Nair, tells us: "Neither did he aspire to the prospects of all-India leadership.. he believed that he could solve the Punjab question while he was present, though he was diffident about the solution of the Indian tangle."⁴⁸

The most potent danger which impelled Sikandar, Jinnah, Haq and the Government to form this alignment, constituted the frontal attacks of the Congress on them. Fazl-ul-Haq's Government was highly deprecated by the Congress on several occasions for its repression of the strikers of the jute industry in Bengal,⁴⁹ deprivation of the people of Bengal, especially in Chittagong, of their civil liberties,⁵⁰ trial of communist leaders for propagating the doctrines of communism,⁵¹ suppression of the press, and humiliation of the political prisoners in Andaman.⁵²

The Congress criticism of Jinnah, Muslim League and Sikandar forced them to patch up their differences. Jinnah who in 1936 had insisted on the dissolution of the Unionist Party,⁵³ wanted to break the government of Sikandar, and hammer out a strong block to march with the Hindus,⁵⁴ was, after July 1937, in a mood to compromise with

46. Imran Ali, *Punjab Politics in the Decade Before Partition* (Lahore, 1974), p. 75.

47. Tika Ram, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

49. Nehru's speech at Calcutta on 3 May 1937, *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, 4.5.1937; Nehru's press statement issued on 1. 7. 1937, *The Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 2. 7. 1937.

50. Nehru's speech at Chittagong on 13 June 1937, *The Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 16.6.1937; also Maharashtra Government Records, Police Commissioner's office, File No. 3590/H/11, quoted from *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. 8 (New Delhi, 1976), p. 259.

51. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 16.6.1937.

52. *The Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 7 and 9 August 1937.

53. Khizr Hayat, 'The 1937 Elections...', *op. cit.*, pp. 363-66.

54. Home Department, Poll. File No. 18/10/1936, p. 16. F.R. Pb. for the first half of October 1936.

Sikandar. Election results had shown the weakness of the Muslim League. Except in Bengal, where it was a coalition partner, Muslim League was not invited to form coalition ministries in the remaining three Muslim majority provinces of Punjab, Sind and North-West Frontier Province. When League's offer of forming a coalition ministry in U.P. in July 1937 was cold-shouldered by the Congress,⁵⁵ Jinnah gave up his earlier policy, which was that Muslim League would somehow make common cause with the Congress to fight the British authority.⁵⁶ Even prior to this, Nehru-Jinnah controversy had been raging since January 1937. When Nehru said that there were only two forces in India, the nationalist forces led by the Congress and British Imperialism, Jinnah retorted that there was also a 'third party,' namely, the Indian Muslims.⁵⁷ Nehru very strongly replied: "Mr. Jinnah has said something which surely is communalism raised to the power."⁵⁸ On the other hand, Jinnah called Nehru a 'dictator.'⁵⁹ When Congress Muslims were condemned by Jinnah as 'adventurers,' Nehru declared: that there were Muslims in the Congress who could provide inspiration to thousand Jinnahs. Further, he criticised the Muslim League also as a reactionary and pro-British organisation.⁶⁰ On the other end, Muslim mass contact programme launched by the Congress in March 1937⁶¹ was quite adversely commented upon by Shaukat Ali: "Efforts like this only widen the gulf and lead to a fearful catastrophe."⁶² Jinnah countered this programme of the Congress by a persistent propaganda that the Congress was a Hindu body. In support of his allegation, he instanced the *Bande Matram* song, its tricolour flag and kicked up Hindi-Urdu controversy. He also made a determined effort to bring all the Muslim parties under the banner of the League⁶³ to force the Congress to accept him as the 'third party.'

In the Punjab, Congress was gaining popularity. While in 1936,

55. Nehru to Rajendra Prasad, 21.7.1937, J. N. Correspondence (Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi. (Hereafter cited as N.M.M.L.).

56. Khizr Hayat, 'The 1937 Elections...', *op. cit.*, p. 368.

57. *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. 8, p. 119, fn. 2.

58. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 12.1.1937.

59. *The Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 10.2.1937.

60. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 5.5.1937; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay, 5.5.1937.

61. *Rajendra Prasad Papers*, File No. 1/37, N.A.I.

62. *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. 8, *op. cit.*, p. 125, fn. 2.

63. Menon, V.P., *The Transfer of Power in India* (New Delhi, 1968), pp. 55-6.

it had remained short of its quota of 50,000 for the enrolment of new members,⁶⁴ by October 1937, it crossed the target of 63,000.⁶⁵ It had also brought almost all the Communist and socialist parties under the banner of its wing, the Congress Socialist Party.⁶⁶ Of all the five communists elected in 1937 elections, four had fought on the Congress ticket, and the fifth, Sohan Singh Josh, had been supported by it.⁶⁷ In a bye-election, Teja Singh Swatantar was also elected unopposed on its ticket.⁶⁸ In the Punjab Assembly, Akalis, Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat and Ahrars were also with the Congress in opposing various government measures.⁶⁹ From 25-31 March 1937, 94 meetings were held in the province urging the people to observe anti-constitution day on the 1st April against the installation of the Unionist Ministry in the Punjab. On this day bus services remained completely suspended in Lahore and Amritsar.⁷⁰ In fact the Congress launched a strong campaign against the Unionist Government. It was branded as 'pro-British'⁷¹ 'a kind of off-shoot of that (British) government,'⁷² and 'fascist,'⁷³ much 'must be made to go.'⁷⁴ Since July, it also launched a campaign for the release of political prisoners in the Punjab.⁷⁵ At the Political Prisoners Release Conference at Ghardiwala, attended by some 40,000 people, it was stressed that even though an Indian government was in office in the Punjab, the number of political prisoners continued to be the same as before; repression was in full swing, more political arrests were being made, and the press was being gagged.⁷⁶

Emergence of so strong a Congress campaign in India, especially

64. Home Deptt. Poll. File No. 18/9/1936-Poll.; F.R. Pb. for the second half of 1936, p. 62.
65. *Ibid.*, File No. 18/10/37-Poll.; F.R. Pb. for the first half of Oct. 1937.
66. *Ibid.*, Files No. 18/5/36-Poll., p.53; 18/6/1936-Pol., p.4; 18/8/1936-Poll., p.15.
67. Home Deptt. Poll. February 1937, File No. 18/2/37, p.16.
68. *Ibid.*, April 1937, File No. 18/4/37, p.1; and May 1937, File No. 18/5/37, p.27.
69. *Ibid.*, File No. 18/2/37, p.16; and File No. 18/9/37-Poll., p.1.
70. *Ibid.*, March 1947, File No. 18/3/37, p. 1; April 1937, File No. 18/4/37, p. 1.
71. Nehru to Gopi Chand Bhargava, 5.3.37, A.I.C.C. File No. E-17 (i), 1936, p. 119. N.M.M.L.
72. Nehru to Mohammad Yamin Dar, 30.8.1937; A.I.C.F. File No. G-76/193, p.425, N.M.M.L.
73. *The Tribune*, Lahore, 25.7.1937.
74. *Ibid.*, 12.10.1937.
75. S. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p.218.
76. Home Deptt. Poll., October 1937, File No. 18/10/1937, p.2; also *The Tribune*, Lahore, 12-10-1937.

in the Punjab, and frontal attacks on the reactionary thinking of Jinnah, Sikandar and Haq proved a very important factor in bringing them closer, and in the conclusion of the Sikandar-Jinnah-Haq Pact. Supporting this viewpoint, Sir Chhotu Ram wrote that the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact was "a reaction to the dead set made by the Congress..."⁷⁷

However, a pertinent question arises due to the reason that the Congress movement was directed against British Imperialism more than any other party. Was the Government also a party to the Sikandar-Jinnah-Haq alignment? The answer is in the affirmative. Khizr writes "The Government of India, as representative of the British Government was feeling the need of organising the Muslim opposition to the Congress mass contact programme in order to strength its own position." Sir H.D. Craik, Home Member of the Government of India and the old benefactor of Sikandar, had also been in touch with him. Craik told him that without a strong all-India front the Government of India might find it difficult to withstand the Congress demands.⁷⁸ Fazl-ul-Haq was also contacted, through the Bengal Governor. Subsequently, talks took place at Delhi. Even before proceeding to Lucknow Sikandar had consultations with Craik who gave full support to the move, which meant "from Government's point of view, the strengthening of Jinnah's hands in the political fight against the Congress."⁷⁹

Lala Duni Chand, a Congress M.L.A., wrote that the Jinnah-Sikandar-Fazl-ul-Haq Pact was motivated by the desire to obstruct the Congress in realising speedy attainment of complete independence for India.⁸⁰ Similar opinions were also expressed by Dr Muhammad Alam and Comrade Munshi Ahmad Din.⁸¹ In this regard, the then Congress President, Jawaharlal Nehru observed that due to the "fear of the growing strength of the masses under the leadership of the Congress," the Muslim League and allied circles (Unionist Party and Praja Party), vested and communal interests wanted to align themselves to resist

77. *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, 19-10-1937.

78. The most frightening demand of the Congress, which could seriously undermine the political prestige of Jinnah, Sikander and Haq, was for the formation of the constituent Assembly on the basis of adult suffrage, and having the power to frame a constitution for independent India. Vide Nehru's press statement at Delhi on 22.3.1937, published in *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 23.3.1937.

79. Khizr Hayat, 'The 1937 Elections...', *op. cit.*, pp. 370-71.

80. *The Tribune*, Lahore, 21-10-1937.

81. *Ibid*, 22.10.1937 and 24-10-1937.

that mass pressure.⁸² Even public reaction, as reported by a government agency, also pointed to similar motives of the Pact. It was generally regarded as a Muslim declaration of organised opposition to the Congress, while extremists saw in it a combination which would operate in the interest of British imperialism.⁸³ Master Tara Singh rightly commented that the Pact was an alliance of communalists and foreign bureaucracy.⁸⁴

At this stage, there crops up another equally important question why did the foreign bureaucracy not ask Sikandar make an electoral alliance with Jinnah, if not earlier, at least after Fazli's death on August 9, 1936?⁸⁵ In reply, it can be said that in 1936 there are fair chances of reconciliation between Jinnah and the Congress, at that time.⁸⁶ Chaudhri Afzal Haq, M.L.C., while presiding over the Ahrar Conference on 8 May 1936 at Amritsar suggested the possibility of forming a united front with the Congress and the Muslim League to oppose moderates.⁸⁷ Election Manifesto of the League issued on 11 June 1936, attracted quite adverse comments in Government circles. It was said that it smacked of 'Congress doctrines with socialistic tendencies.'⁸⁸ Though there had been an acrimonious public controversy between Jinnah and Nehru, yet effort were being made to arrange a Nehru Jinnah meeting

82. Nehru's press statement at Lahore, *ibid.*, 19-10-1937.

83. Home Deptt. Poll., October 1937, File No. 18/10/37; F R. Pb. for the first half of October 1937.

84. Statement to the press at Amritsar, *The Tribune*, Lahore, 19.10.1937.

85. It is a known fact that during Jinnah's visits to Lahore in 1936 Sikandar had suggested a formula to bring about a compromise between Sir Fazil and Jinnah. The proposal was that Jinnah would not insist on the dissolution of the Unionist Party and allow the Muslim Unionists to be known as Muslim League Unionists but Fazl-i-Hussain did not agree. Satya M. Rai, *Legislative Politics and Freedom Struggle in the Punjab* (New Delhi, 1984), p. 220.

86. Nehru wrote to Rajendra Prasad on 21.7.1937 : In the League Election Board in U.P. there were some fairly good and old Congressmen...In the tussle was with the (Nationalist) Agriculturists Party which was a wholly government party of big zamindurs. The League was also opposing them and so our opposition to the League weakened. We did not want to split the forces opposed to pure reaction. There was no kind of arrangement between the U.P. Congress and the League, but a kind of convention developed....During my tour where there was no Congress Muslim candidate, I usually supported the League candidate, for the was not an obvious reactionary. ' *J.N. Correspondence*, N.M.M.L.

87. Home Deptt. Poll. File No. 18/5/36, Poll., p. 13, N.A.I.

88. *Ibid.*, File No. 18/6/1936, p. 15, N.A.I.

in the last days of September 1937.⁸⁹ For intervention by Jinnah through B. G. Kher in May 1937, but Gandhi Mahatma Gandhi was also approached expressed helplessness.⁹⁰ In late September, Diwan Chaman Lal wrote to Gandhi to meet Jinnah for the settlement of differences between the League and the Congress.⁹¹ It was during his crucial period, when Jinnah's ego had been hurt, and the Muslim League counted little in national politics, that the Government decided to ask Sikandar and Haq to come out in support of Jinnah.⁹²

Thus Sikandar and Haq made this Pact at the command of the Government in order to continue in power through the least cumbersome method that is, with the support of the Government. On the other side, Jinnah did so with the motive that having gained the backing of most important Muslim Provinces, the Punjab and Bengal, he could force the Congress to make a second Lucknow Pact, elevating him, as the sole leader of the Indian Muslims as high a national status as Nehru held.⁹³

89. A.I.C.C. File No. P-171/1937, p. 317, N.M.M.L.

90. Gandhi to Jinnah, 22.5.37, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. XLVI, (Ahmedabad, 1976), p. 231.

91. Vide *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, Vol. 8, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

92. Mahatma Gandhi to Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, prior to October 9, 1937. *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. XLVI, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

93. However, in order to properly understand Jinnah's motive at that moment, it should be remembered that the famous resolution for a sovereign Pakistan was passed much later, after about two and a half years, in 1940.

Some Important Towns of PEPSU

DR GANDA SINGH

BANUR

Situated in 76° 47' E. and 30° 34' N. on the Sukhna *nadi*, a tributary of the Ghaggar, at a distance of nine miles north-east of Rajpura on the Rajpura-Chandigarh road, Banur is an ancient town. Its ruins testify its former grandeur and importance, but its history has been long lost in oblivion. Its ancient name was Pushpa or Popa Nagri or Pushpawati, the city of flowers, and it was famous for the scent of *Chāmbeli* (flowers grown in its numerous gardens. Madhava Nala and Kama Knadla, the hero and heroine of the drama of the same name, who flourished during the reign of Vikramaditya, are said to have lived here. The place was also well known for its musicians. One Banno, *chhimban*, a washer-woman, is mentioned as a great musician of the days of Akbar. The earliest historical monument that exists in the town is the dilapidated tomb of Malik Suleman, father of Sayyad Emperor Khizr Khan, who adorned the throne of India from 1414 to 1421. One of the walls around this tomb contains an inscription which gives the date of his death as 808 A.H.

Emperor Babur tells us in his memoirs, the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, that after his departure from Ropar, he passed through Karal (evidently Kurali) and another place and then came to Banur on the bank of the Ghaggar in February 1526. (The Ghaggar is now at a distance of 5 miles from it. The rivulet has evidently changed its course during the past four centuries.) From here he went on an excursion to Chhatt, now about seven miles distant, also on the bank of this rivulet. Going up the Ghaggar for another six or seven miles he came to a place where 'a 4 or 5 miles-stream' issues from a broad valley. He found this place to be very pleasant, healthy and convenient and Babur ordered a *char-bagh* to be laid out at the mouth of the valley. (A.S. Beveridge, *Babur-Nama* in English, ii, pp. 464-65; King's translation, ii, p. 177.)

During the reign of Emperor Akbar it became a *mahal* of the *sarkar* of Sirhind and continued to be so up to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Banur was one of the first places reduced by the Sikh Chief Banda Singh before he attacked and occupied Sirhind.

Banda Singh marched upon Banur on *Baisakh* 27, 1767 *Bk.*, April 24, 1710, and as the inhabitants of the town surrendered themselves to him without any resistance, it was left untouched.

In addition to the tomb of Malik Suleman, the suburbs of Banur contain the ruins of an old imperial fort, popularly known as Zulmgarh, the citadel of tyranny, and of another fort of Banda Ali Beg of a more recent date.

After the Sikh conquest of Sirhind, it was taken possession of by the Singhpuria Sardars and was later on occupied by Maharaja Amar Singh of Patiala. According to *shuqa* of March 31, 1761, addressed by Shah Wali Khan, Prime Minister of Ahmad Shah Durrani, Banur was a *parganah* with 37 villages attached to it. It continued to remain in the undisturbed possession of the Patiala State as a tahsil up to 1948 when the Patiala and E.P.S. Union was formed.

The various suburbs of *bastis* that surrounded it indicated at one time the extent and importance of the town, as also *muhallas* of Rajputan, Kalalan, Sayyadan, Maihtan, Kaithan and Hinduwara, inhabited exclusively by the tribes whose names they bore. The partition of the country and its after-effects, however, have completely upset the previous set-up and the old *bastis* and *muhallas* with Muslim names have disappeared with the migration of Muslim population to Pakistan.

BARNALA

Barnala, also called Anahadgarh, situated in 75° 37'E. and 30° 23'N. at a distance of 52 miles to the west of Patiala on the Rajpura-Bhatinda railway line, was the headquarters of the district of the same name. It was a small village in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Baba Ala Singh, the founder of the Patiala State, occupied it in 1722 and made it the capital of his rising principality. It was considerably improved by him, with a wall of masonry all round and a fort within it. In front of the inner courtyard of the fort, there is a spacious *boali* with 127 steps. For forty years Barnala continued to hold the privileged position of the capital and lost it in 1763 when Ala Singh permanently shifted his capital to Patiala. It was with Barnala as his base depot that he had led his successful expeditions against his Bhatti and other opponents and had steadily extended his territories and climbed the ladder of success in founding the State of Patiala.

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The *langar* or the community kitchen of Barnala, run by his large-hearted spouse Fateh Kaur, known as *Mai Fatto*, was a very popular institution. With doors open all the twenty four hours, offering a smiling welcome and rich and ready meals to all wayfarers. The hearths of this kitchen have acquired a sort of religious significance and are still revered by the people.

BASSI

The town of Bassi is situated at a distance of three miles from Sirhind. It was founded in 1540 by an Afghan Malik Hajdar Khan Umarzai who settled here during the reign of Sher Shah Suri and called this Bassi, *basti* or settlement after his own name. It rose in importance only after the sack of Sirhind by the Sikhs in 1763 when it was occupied by Sardar Diwan Singh of the Dallewalia *Misal*. Later on it passed into the possession of the Maharaja of Patiala. The old fort of Sardar Diwan Singh is now used as the district lock up and the Anglo-Vernacular Middle School. In a house near it, called the Darbar Sahib, a hair from Prophet Muhammad's beard was kept in a glass case and the Muhammadans used to visit this place on his birthday and on the anniversary of his death. The historical relic is no longer there, having been taken away to Pakistan in 1947 by its Muslim custodians.

BHATTINDA

Bhattinda is one of the most important historical towns of the Patiala Union. It is situated in 30° . 13' N. and 75°E in the centre of the Jangal tract. It is an important junction of the Northern Railway, 54 miles south of Ferozpur, and the terminus of the Rajpura-Bhattinda line, 92 miles to the west of Patiala. Bhattinda is a place of great antiquity, but its early history has become obscure on account of its confusion with Sirhind, Bhatia, Bhatner and O'hind.

According to a local tradition the fort of Bhattinda, around which the modern town has gradually grown, was built by Raja Dab, an ancestor of Vinay Pal, over 1800 years ago. The type of large bricks which can still be seen in many places in the structure certainly prove that it existed long before the earliest Muslim invasion of India. It is true that there are to be seen small bricks of Lakhowr type also throughout the building but, according to H. W.

Gavrick's *Report of a Tour In the Punjab and Rajputana in 1883-84* (Calcutta, 1887), "these were probably used in additions or repairs, of which it has undergone many."

The etymology of Bhattinda suggests that, in all probability, it was originally called *Bhattian-da-kot* or *nagar*, the fort or town "of the Bhattis" (*da*, meaning *of*, being the genitive participle in Panjabi added to Bhattian, the plural of Bhatti), a tribe of Rajputs. The whole of this tract at one time was populated and held by the Bhattis, many of whom adopted the faith of Islam. Several of the Hindu Bhatti families, who migrated to the east and north, were gradually transformed into Panjabi jats and later on came under the influence of Sikhism. The modern name of Gobindgarh was given to the fort by Maharaja Karam Singh of Patiala in memory of the visit of Guru Gobind Singh, with an endowment of fifty *ghumaon* of land for the Gurdwara in the fort which stands on the spot where the Guru sat during his visit.

The *Aina-i-Brar Bans* assigns the foundation of Bhattinda to Bhatti Rao son of Bal Band, who is said to have become the ruler of the Panjab in 336 Bk., 279-80 A.D. and founded the fort of Bhatner. There are a number of other traditions preserved in this book but they find no reliable corroboration in other books of history.

Bhattinda was the capital of Raja Jaipal of Lahore whose western boundary extended to beyond Lamghan. Islam at this time was struggling to gain a foot-hold in Afghanistan. After the occupation of Ghazni, Alaptgin, originally a Turkish slave, assumed the insignia of sovereignty and deputed his general and son-in-law, Nasir-ud-Din Sabuktgin (also a slave of Turkish extraction), to attack the Hindu territories of Lamghan and Multan. The Muslim inroads resulted in thousands of Hindus being carried as slaves to Ghazni. After the death of Alaptgin in 976, and of his son Abu Is'haq a few months later, Sabuktgin became the king of Ghazni and renewed his efforts to penetrate into the Panjab. Raja Jaipal was defeated and a part of his territory was occupied. On the death of Sabuktgin Jaipal tried to regain his lost territories. But Sabuktgin's son Mahmood (997-1030) was more successful in his Indian invasions. He defeated Jaipal in 1001, took him prisoner and reduced and plundered his fort of Bhattinda. He was later on released on condition of paying tribute to the victor. But the Raja could not stand the disgrace heaped upon him by repeated failure. He abdicated his throne in favour of his

son Anangpal and burnt himself alive on a pyre.

Dr Muhammad Nazim in his *Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* gives the following account of conquest of Bhattinda by Mahmood.

"Early in the year 395 (October 1004), the Sultan started from Ghazna to take the strong fort of Bhattinda which guarded the passage from the north-west into the rich Ganges valley. He marched by way of Hisar and Walishtan in modern Baluchistan, crossed the river Indus in the neighbourhood of Multan and appeared before Bhattinda. Baji Ray, the Raja, was so confident of his strength that instead of seeking the protection of his fort, he came out into the field to give battle to the invader. He defended his position bravely for three days against the repeated attacks of the Sultan. This unusual tenacity of the Hindus completely unnerved the Muslims, and on the fourth day Baji Ray seemed to be carrying everything before him, but the Sultan proved equal to the occasion. He aroused the enthusiasm of his warriors by a stirring appeal and then led them in a final desperate charge on the enemy. He himself set the example and plunged into the thick of the battle, dealing hard blows on his right and left. His courage and enthusiasm were soon rewarded, and before sunset the Hindu ranks were broken and shattered.

"The Raja fled for refuge to the fort which was surrounded by a deep and wide ditch, and was famous for its strength. The Sultan laid siege to it and ordered the ditch to be filled in with stones and trees. When Baji Ray saw this operation progressing satisfactorily, he despaired of standing the siege for long and, leaving the garrison to resist the invader as best they could, fled to a forest. His whereabouts were, however, soon discovered and he was surrounded but, preferring death to the humiliation of captivity, the high-spirited Raja stabbed himself with a sword.

"The death of the Raja depressed the spirit of the garrison and the fort was taken without much further resistance. No quarter was given to the enemy and only those who embraced Islam escaped the vengeance of the conquerors. Immense booty was captured, the share of the Sultan alone amounting to 120 elephants besides gold, silver and arms.

"The Sultan stayed there for some time to subjugate the outlying parts of the kingdom of Bhattinda and appointed teachers to instruct the converts in the rudiments of Islam. He then marched back to

Ghazna. But he had stayed too long at Bhattinda. The Punjab rivers were in flood probably owing to early rains. Much of the baggage was lost and many of the warriors, who had weathered the storms of arrows, were swept away by the infuriated waters of the river Indus. The sufferings of the soldiers were augmented by the hostility of the ruler of Multan, who most probably resented the Sultan's passage through his territories.

"After suffering great hardships the Sultan arrived in Ghazna about the middle of 395 (May-June 1005)."

Bhattinda now passed into Muslim possession for seven hundred and fifty years to come.

Muhammad Ghauri placed the fort of Bhattinda in the charge of his trusted general Kutb-ud-Din Ibbak who was later on crowned at Lahore as the first Muslim King of India (1205-1210), the founder of the Slave dynasty. On the death of Kutb-ud-Din in 1210, his son Aram succeeded him. But he was a weak and irresolute man. This encouraged Nasir-ud-Din Kubacha, one of the adopted slaves of Muhammad Ghauri, to declare himself independent and establish his authority in Sindh, Multan, Bhattinda Sirhind and neighbouring territories of Ghuram and Thanesar. Some other chiefs followed his example and became independent.

Upon this the leading Amirs of the late Kutb-ud-Din Ibbak invited his son-in-law and adopted son Shams-ud-Din Iltutmash to assume the sovereignty of the tottering kingdom. Iltutmash was a brave soldier. He defeated Aram in a battle near the city of Delhi and took possession of the throne in 1210, within a few months of Ibbak's death. Kubacha was soon driven out of Bhattinda and Sirhind. He fled to Sindh. Under Iltutmash (1210-36), Bhattinda was at first held by Malik Taj-ud-Din Shamsi and then by Malik Sher Khan, Muhammad Shah and Nasrat Khan who also had in his charge the territories of Jhajjar, Sunam and the country as far as the ferries of Beas.

The fort of Bhattinda is next associated with Razia Begam, the queen of Delhi (1236-39), at first as a place of her discomfiture and confinement and then as a base depot of her unsuccessful efforts to regain her lost throne.

Sultana Razia Begam was the daughter of Shams-ud-Din Iltutmash of the slave dynasty and was raised to the throne of Delhi in 1236 in place of her licentious brother Rukn-ud-Din. She was

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a woman of remarkable talents and, in the words of her father, 'was better than twenty such sons' as had given 'themselves up to wine, women, gambling and wind (flattery).' She proved to be an able administrator and soon brought peace and prosperity to the country. But, unfortunately, she succumbed to the frailty of her sex and took into her confidence an Abyssinian slave Jamal-ud-Din. He was loaded with royal favours and was raised to be the Amir-ul-Umra, the chief of the nobles. The liberties permitted to the Abyssinian by the queen raised a storm against her and the viceroy of Lahore threw off his allegiance. Razia, however, soon reduced him to submission and re-instated him in Lahore, and, in addition thereto, she gave him the governorship of Multan, perhaps, to secure his co-operation for the future.

Next to rise against her was the governor of Bhattinda, Malik Altunia, a chief of Turkish origin and a confederate of Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-Din who had held the fort before him and later on (in the time of Moiz-ud-Din Behram Shah) became the wazir of the empire at Delhi. Razia rushed upon Bhattinda with a large force and give him battle. But here she was defeated by Altunia, taken prisoner and confined in the Samman Burj of the fort. This bastion-tower is pointed out to the visitor up to the present day as a place of historical importance.

The Abyssinian favourite, Jamal-ud-Din, was killed in the battle. Razia's brother Behram was raised to the throne. Malik Altunia soon after married the queen and marched upon Delhi with an army of Ghakkar Jats. But the attack was repulsed and she had to fly back to Bhattinda. Once more she rallied her scattered forces and moved out for a second effort. But she was defeated again on the field of Kaithal on October 24, 1239 and was taken prisoner along with her husband and assassinated on November 14.

Sultana Razia, as stated above, was succeeded on the throne by Moiz-ud-Din Behram Shah who in turn was followed by Ala-ud-Din Masood, son of Rukn-ud-Din Feroz. In his time (1241-46) Bhattinda was entrusted to Malik Nasir-ud-Din Mahmood of Bindar.

During the reign of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmood (1246-66) of the same dynasty, the Government of the Panjab, including Multan, Bhatner, Bhattinda and Sirhind was held by prime minister Ghias-ud-Din Balban's nephew Sher Khan who was honoured for his talents and services with the title of Muazzam Khan. According to Zia-ud-Din

Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Sher Khan was one of the most distinguished and respected of the forty *Shamsi* slaves. He 'held charge of Sunam, Lahore and Dipalpur and other territories exposed to the inroads of the Mughals,' whom he defeated and routed in many a battle. He repaired the forts of Bhattinda and Bhatner and made them impregnable. But afraid of the evil intentions of the kings of Delhi to get rid of the *Shamsi* slaves upon some pretext or other, he kept himself away from the capital. He did not even go there on the occasion of his uncle Ghias-ud-Din's accession. The result was that he lost the sympathy of his uncle and was secretly poisoned under his orders.

With the increasing importance of Lahore as the capital of the Panjab, and of Sirhind as headquarters of a *sarkar*, on the royal road to the capital of the Muslim empire at Delhi, Bhattinda slowly receded to the background. It, however, continued to hold a strategic position in the Jangal territory right up to the days of the later Mughals when, in about 1754, it was occupied by Ala Singh of Patiala with the assistance of the Buddha Dal of the Sikhs. The possession was, however, disputed by Sukh-Chain Singh, nephew of Sardar Jodh Singh, to whom it was entrusted by Ala Singh. Maharaja Amar Singh ordered the fort to be invested and reduced. Kapur Singh, son of Sukh-Chain Singh, surrendered and evacuated it in 1771. The fort was renamed Gobindgarh by Maharaja Karam Singh in memory of the visit of Guru Gobind Singh during his travels in the Jangal area.

Mr. Garrick in his Report of 1883-84 wrote—and there has been no extraordinary change since then—that "the walls of this edifice are extraordinarily massive and built with the usual slope, being 53 feet at base and 35 feet at summit in thickness, and 106 feet high. The most perfect Burj or bastion-tower, is exactly 120 feet above the ground-level of the town which surrounds the fort.

"In plan Govindgarh proper is a square of 686 feet, with 32 small and 4 large bastions, of which the former are arranged 8 to each side the building faces the cardinal points and the latter 1 to each corner. These large bastions are 291 feet in circumference at top; but the minor towers are much smaller.

"Some time ago the walls of this fort encompassed a small village which was imprudently built upon or near to, the powder magazine; but since this exploded and removed the inhabitants more violently than was good for them, no one lives there excepting the sentries and

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kill'ahdar, whose dwellings being in the gate and main circumvallation respectively, they stand in no danger of a similar catastrophe. The only gateway is in the eastern face, but placed in the northern end of that face, and the fort is surrounded by a mud or *dhus* wall, of 1,3000 feet side and 14 feet thick; but measured across from the edge of its battlements of which there are twelve to each face, 43 feet in thickness. But these outworks, though comparatively modern, being erected since the possession of this fort by the Patiala State, are much dilapidated and only traceable in few places, of which the most perfect are towards the west, north, and south; indeed I doubt if these extramural works ever existed on the east side, where the town approaches very near to the main walls of the fort, in the centre of which are the remains of a tank, 86 feet square and 26 feet deep, surrounded by four brick walls 43 inches thick. The tank is approached from the south by a *pakka ghat* or brick floor, suitable for bathers; but it is at present quite dry and out of use.

"The general appearance of the fort exteriorly is solid, plain and rather ungainly in its block-like and angular outlines. But owing to its excessive height, it is seen from several miles all round."

In addition to the fort, an equally ancient historical monument at Bhattinda is the Rauza Baba Haji Ratan. Ratan, according to a tradition was the minister of Raja Vinay Pal, and is said to have betrayed his master in assisting the Muslims in occupying the fort of Bhattinda and putting him and his family to the sword. He embraced Islam and making a *Hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca) became a *Haji*. For his Islamic zeal and pilgrimage, Ratan was known as Baba *Haji* and his mauseum was venerated as that of a saint. Around the principal *Rauza* of the sainted *Haji* are grouped five smaller tombs, presumably, of his descendants.

In addition to the Gurdwara of Guru Gobind Singh inside the fort in one of the upper most rooms, there is another Gurdwara of the Guru, near the Mausoleum of Baba Haji Ratan, on the spot where the Guru had his camp. Both of these Gurdwaras have land endowments of fifty and twenty-five *ghumaon* respectively from the erstwhile Patiala State.

BHAWANIGARH

The town of Bhawanigarh is situated on the Patiala Sangrur road, 22 miles south-west of Patiala and 14 miles east of Sangrur. It was

originally, and is still popularly known as Dhodhian, the name having been lent to it by the Jats of Dhodan, sub-clan of the Bajha clan or *got*. As tradition has it, a sheep at the shrine of goddess Bhawani defended itself against two wolves, during the days of Baba Ala Singh who was prevailed upon by a *sadhu* to build on the spot a fort and name it Bhawanigarh.

CHHATT

Chhat is an ancient village, 7 miles east of Banur. Its ancient name is said to have been Lakhnauti. The ruins of old buildings scattered all round speak for its being once a large and rich town during the Muslim rule. The present name **Chhatt** in Panjabi and Hindostani means a roof. It is said that after his capture by Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghauri, Prithvi Raj Chauhan, known as Rai Pithaura, was for some time prisoned here in a house having nine-inch thick iron *chhatt*. Prithvi Raj was known to be a *shabd-bhedi* archer, i.e., a marksman who could shoot an arrow as far as a voice could be heard, whatever might intervene. At the instance of Ghauri, Prithvi Raj shot an arrow which pierced through the iron *chhatt* of his prison-house. The *Ain-i-Akbari* (Francis Gladwin, p. 386), followed by Kali Rai's *Sair-i-Panjab*, p. 405, is quoted as an authority in support of this tradition. But the last part of it, which ascribes the death of Ghauri to the arrow of the Chauhan, is a pure legend, as, according to history, he was killed by the Gakkhars at Rohtas on the Jhelum in March 1206. At first the *muhalla*, in which the iron-roofed house was situated, and then the whole town was known as *Chhatt-wala* (or having the *chhatt*). The additional *wala* (meaning having) dropped off with the passage of time.

With the growth of both Banur and Chhatt on all sides, particularly towards each other, the towns came so close that they became practically one, Chhatt becoming almost a suburb of Banur, and two places were called by the common name of Chhatt-Banur. Emperor Babur has mentioned this place in his *Memoirs* and it has been erroneously transcribed by Annette S. Beveridge in her translation of the *Babur-nama* as *Chitr*. The Emperor tells us that during his stay at Banur in February 1526 he went on an excursion to Chhatt and beyond it to another place on the Ghaggar, at a distance of six or seven miles, where 4 or 5 mill-steam issued from a broad valley. He

found the place to be healthy and pleasant.

The history of this place is almost the same as that of Banur. It was one of the first few places to be occupied by the Sikh Chief Banda Singh in 1710. On his way to Ropar, he was approached by the Hindus of Chhatt who appealed to him for protection against the aggressions of the local Muhammadans. Their religious bigotry and loose morality were a terror to the Hindus. Banda Singh at once came to their help, occupied the town and placed it under a Sikh *amil*. But the Sikhs could not retain it for long. They lost it with Sirhind in 1712 when Emperor Bahadur Shah, son of Aurangzeb, marched against them. In a document dated March 21, 1761, it is mentioned as a small *parganah* with eight villages attached to it as forming a part of the territories of Ala Singh of Patiala. In January 1764 it was permanently taken possession of by the Sikh *misaldars* after the sack and occupation of Sirhind and was annexed to the territories of the erstwhile Patiala State.

DHOSI HILL (Narnaul)

Dhosi Hill is situated to the west of Narnaul at a distance of about five miles. To the south of the hill opposite the village of Kultajpur there stands a rock an ancient dome-shape structure which is opened on three sides. At the top of the dome there is lotus-shaped point-drawn. It is out of repair. The inside of it is filled with stones, perhaps, kept there for repairs which have not been carried out. Below it, there are three similar domed monuments. They are said to have been repaired some 5 or 6 years ago. They are also open on three sides. Northern and southern sides, however, have been filled up with brick *jalis*. Inside there are two holes in the northern monument. There is a small (*ala*) which has *charan padika*. There is also a Jain *samadhi*. It contains an inscription which could not be deciphered. Also next to it there is a *samadhi* of some Jain Muni. This has also two *charan padikas*. This has also inscription on a stone which could not be read. Similarly there is the third monument. It has a *charan padika* in the *ala* only. It has no inscription.

Behind them also there are two small *samadhis*. Below the first un-repaired one, there are two similar *samadhis*. The southern-most *samadhi* has also a *charan padika* in it.

Note—Durga Prasad Jain of Narnaul is said to have done repairs. Reference regarding the inscriptions may be made to him.

The 2 idols—one of Shri Ganesh and the other is Brainaji.

With rising peaks all round, there is on the top of the hill a small cup-like plain with an opening to the west. Over the hill all round there are remanent of old dilapidated wall which is said to be the remanent of old fort ascribed to some Raja Nunkaran of the house of Bikaner. According to a local tradition he used to kill five Mohammadans everyday before he took his daily meal. Coming from the side of Kultajpur via Shiv Kund one comes to a gate from where the descent begins into the plain. The main shrine is in memory of Chaman Rishi, an old Hindu sage. He is said to have lived here. The temple stands on a pedestal and is entered by a door which opens into a court-yard having double verandahs on both sides. To the western side of the court-yard is the temple par-excellence. Inside the temple there is an idol of Lord Krishana, and to the left there is a statue of Lord Shiva. Down on a *chauki* is a marble statue of the Rishi.

KURHAM (Ghuram)

Situated in 30°7' N. and 76°33' E., 26 miles south (slightly west) of Rajpura and 16 miles south (slightly east) of Patiala.

Kurham (Ghuram, renamed Ramgarh) is a very ancient place. An old tradition takes it back to the days of Ramayana, being the abode of Rama's maternal grandfather. The old ruins in its vicinity speak for its antiquity, though its early history has been long lost. During the days of the Rajput kings, Kurham (Kuhram or Koh-i-Ram of the Persian writers) was an important town with a strong fort to protect it. According to Hasan Nizami's *Tej-ul-Ma'asir*, it fell into the hands of Shahab-ud-Din-Muhammad Ghauri after the conquest of Ajmer and Delhi, when the territories of Hansi, the Saraswati (Thanesar) and the Shivalak Hills also came into the Sultan's possession. Abdullah Wassaf, the author of the *Tazjiyat-ul-Amsar wa Tajriyat-ul-Asar*, includes Kohram, and also Sunam and Samana, amongst the most celebrated cities and tracts lying between Khurasan and Hindostan, bracketing it with Multan, Uch, Jalandhar, Sirhind, etc. (Elliot & Dowson, III, p. 36). On his return to Ghazni in 1192 the Ghauri made over the government of the fort of Ghuram and of Samana to Kutb-ud-Din Ebak (*Tarikh-i-Mubarik Shahi*, p. 10), who was later on crowned at Lahore as the first Muslim king of India.

Nizami tells us that when the chiefs of the country around Kurham came to pay their respects and acknowledge fealty he was very just

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and generous to them (Elliot & Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, ii, pp. 216-17). With Kurham as his base depot, Ebak marched upon Meerut, conquered that town and took possession of Delhi. In the following year he captured the fort of Kol (modern Aligarh) and gradually established his authority over the country.

Kutb-ud-Din died in 1213 and was succeeded by his weak and pleasure-loving son Aram. During his time Nasir-ud-Din Kubacha declared himself independent and established his authority from Sindh and Multan in the west to Sirhind, Kurham and Thanesar (Saraswati) on the east. Kubacha was driven out of his eastern territories by Shams-ud-Din Altutmash who came to the throne of Delhi in (the same year) 1210. His son and successor Rukn-ud-Din soon became unpopular. Even his Minister Malik Nizam-ud-Din Junaidi turned against him and joined Malik Iz-ud-Din Salari of Badayun. Malik Ghias-ud-Din Mahmood of Oudh, Iz-ud-Din Gunjan of Multan and Saif-ud-Din Kochi of Hansi collected a huge army at Lahore and marched towards Delhi. They were joined by Ghias-ud-Din Junaidi and Iz-ud-Din Salari. Rukn-ud-Din marched out of the capital to meet the danger. On his arrival in the territory of Kurham, while the rebel leaders were collected within the boundaries of the village of Mansoorpur (modern Chhintanwala) to oppose the Sultan, some of them pushed on to Delhi and joined his sister Razia Begam. An army was immediately sent out of Delhi. Rukn-ud-Din was captured alive at Kilo-Kheri and was ordered by Razia to be imprisoned. This happened on Sunday the 18th of Rabbi-ul-Awwal 634 A.H., November 19, 1236 A.D. (*Tarikh-i-Mubarik Shahi*, p. 22.)

The administration of Kurham during the time of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud (1246-66) was run by a deputy of Sher Khan (nephew of Malik Ghias-ud-Din), who was given the charge of the Panjab, including Multan, Bhatner, Bhattinda and Sirhind.

The fort of Kurham continued to be an important place under the Khaljis. After the assassination of his uncle Jalal-ud Din Khalji, July 19, 1295, Ala-ud-Din Khalji came to the throne. He ordered a number of princes and chiefs to be disgraced and blinded. And the fort of Kurham was used as a prison for the friends of Arkally Khan (son of Jalal-ud-Din), governor of Lahore, Multan and Sindh. Arkally Khan himself and his friend Arsalan Khan of Samana were captured from Samana and exiled to Bharaich where they were put to death. This took place in 696 A.H., 1297 A.D.

There appear to have occurred two rebellions in the territories of Kurham, Samana and Sunam in the time of Muhammad Tughlak (1325-51) and the Emperor had himself to go there to suppress them. On his return from Multan in 1341 after the expulsion of Afghan raiders under Shahu Afghan, Muhammad Tughlak passed through Sunam on his way to Delhi. Zia-ud-Din Barni, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi*, devotes a chapter (pp. 483-85) to the "campaign of Sultan Muhammad in Sunam, Samana, Kaithal and Kurham and devastation of the countries which had all become rebellious."

"The Sultan," says Barni "again marched to Sunam and Samana to put down the rebels, who had formed *mandals* (groups), withheld the tribute, created disturbances, and plundered on the roads. The Sultan destroyed their *mandals*, dispersed their followers, and carried their chiefs prisoners to Delhi. Many of them became Musulmans; and some of them were placed in the service of noblemen, and with their wives and children, became residents of the city. They were torn from their old lands, the troubles they had caused were stopped, and travellers could proceed without fear of robbery." (Elliot and Dowson, *op cit.*, iii, p. 245.)

Kurham is next heard of during the reign of Sultan Sayyad Muhammad Shah (1435-45) of the Sayyad dynasty when it was for some time held by a relative of Sidhipal or Sadharan who had been responsible for the murder of Sultan Sayyad Muhrarik Shah, the father of the Sultan. (*Tarikh-i-Mubarik Shahi*, pp. 72, 238.)

With the increasing importance of Sirhind after 1360 when Feroze Shah Tughlak separated it from the Shikk of Samana and made a separate *parganah* of Sirhind, Kurham gradually dwindled into insignificance. Its political importance was further reduced under the Mughals and Sur Afghans when it lost its connection with Samana, Sunam and Bhattinda by road which fell into disuse on the construction of the Grand Trunk Road passing through Panipat, Karnal, Ambala, Sirhind and Ludhiana. In the course of over three centuries the grandeur of the fort and town of Kurham disappeared in the process of decay and it was reduced to an unimportant place by the beginning of the eighteenth century. It, however, retained its historical importance as the birth-place of Kaushalya, the mother of Sri Rama and is mentioned as such by Guru Gobind Singh in his *Rama-Avtar*, *chhant* 10-11, in the *Dasam Granth*.

It was one of the first towns to be occupied by Banda Singh in

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1710 after his conquest of Samana. When the Sikh warrior arrived in the neighbourhood of this place on his way from Samana to Shahabad, the Pathan landlords and their followers came out to give him battle. But they could not stand against the Sikhs. They were defeated and dispersed. The town was laid waste and plundered, and was annexed to the territories of Bhai Fateh Singh who had been appointed the *faujdar* of Samana. It was, however, soon lost to the Mughals who were yet too strong for the rising power of the Sikhs.

During the seventeen fifties Kurham was held by one Malhi Khan as a *biswedar*—proprietor. He was a tyrant and was notorious for his extortions. Baba Ala Singh of Patiala had then risen to eminence. He was a brave soldier and a humane ruler and was looked upon by the oppressed people as a source of timely help and consolation. The people of Kurham came to Patiala and appealed to his noble wife, *Mai Fatto*, for deliverance. Malhi Khan was dispossessed of Kurham and it was taken under the direct control of Patiala. In 1761 it was a small *parganah*, with six villages attached to it. Maharaja Karam Singh of Patiala built a fort here and named it Ramgarh, evidently, in memory of Rama, his own ancestor or Rama of the *Ramayana* fame.

Near the fort, to the south of it, is a garden surrounded by a *pacca* wall associated with the shrine of Saiyad Miran Bhikh, popularly known as *Dargah* Miran Sahib. Within the compound of the *dargah*, as the shrine is called, there are three buildings, in the central one of which hangs an iron globe suspended by a chain. There is also a Hindu temple of *Mahadev* Shiva with a large tank attached to it. A cenotaph of Sakhi Sarwar, called *Lalanwala*, also stands there.

MANSURPUR (Chhintanwala)

Mansurpur (called Chhintanwala) is an old village on the Rajpura Bhattinda railway line, nine miles west of Nabha. It was founded by Mansur Ali Khan, a Rajput of Kakra, one of the earliest converts to Islam. Its first historical mention is found in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj-us-Siraj. He tells us that it was in the vicinity of Mansurpur that Sultan Rukn-ud-Din (son Iltutmash) of the slave dynasty met his rebellious officers and killed a number of Taziks in 1236. It was from here or its neighbourhood that some of his discontented officials, who had raised the rebellion against him, pushed on to Delhi and joined his sister Sultana Razia Begam who ascended the throne and ordered her brother Rukn-ud-Din to be imprisoned. (Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, ii, p.

The earliest available mentions of the place are made by Abu-Riham Al-beruni in 1030 A.D. in his *Kitab-ul-Hind*² and by Minhaj-us-Siraj in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.³

The beauty and importance of the place in possession of the Raja of Sirmur (Nahan) attracted the notice of the Slave-Sultan Shams-ud-Din Iltutmash's son Nasir-ud-Din Mahmood of Delhi (1246-66), who wrested it from the Raja and sacked its tanks and temples. According to the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Sultan Nasir-ud-Din gained early in the ninth year of his reign, in 652 A.H., 1254 A.D., a brilliant victory in the vicinity of Panjaur and carried a large amount of booty. It was sacked again in January 1399 by Timur on his way back from Delhi when he ravaged the country in search of booty and slaves and defeated Raja Ratan Sen (Rai Rattan of Sharaf-ud-Din Yazdi's *Zafar Nama*) at the foot of the Kalka hills.⁴

In the 4th Regnal year of Emperor Aurangzeb, 1071 A.H., 1661 A.D., his foster brother Fidai Khan turned out the Hindu Raja of Nahan and established his own residence at Panjaur. He was a man of great skill and architectural taste. He laid out beautiful terraced gardens after the model of the Shalamar Garden of Lahore and built magnificent mansions which stand in their glory to the present day. He dug a canal at the foot of the neighbouring hill and brought it to the garden to irrigate its numerous grass plots and flower-beds and feed its springs which added to the grandeur of the place. The garden was famous for its red roses. Munshi Sujjan Rai Bhandari, a contemporary of Aurangzeb, and the author of the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* (1696 A.D.), who paid a visit to the garden during the spring season, tells us that on the day of his visit as much as 40 *maunds* (of Alamgiri weight) of red roses were received in the perfumery (*Gulab Khana*) of Fidai Khan. According to Sujjan Rai there existed at Panjaur during his days, towards the end of the seventeenth century, an old

2. Translated by Sayyad Asghar Ali, published by the Anjuman-i-Traqqi-i-Urdu (Hind), Delhi, 1941, Vol. 1, chapter XVIII, p. 273. Also see Rashid-ud-Din's *Jame-ut-Tawarikh* in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its own Historians*, Vol. I, p. 61.

3. *Bibliotheca Indica* (Asiatic Society of Bengal), New Series, No. 50, Calcutta, 1844, p. 218; Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, II, p. 353.

4. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* (Autobiographical Memoir of Timur); Shafar-ud-Din Yazdi, *Zafar Nama* (Patiala Archives, MS.), p. 338; Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 463, 514.

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Hindu temple of great sanctity, known as Bhima-Devi.⁵ It is no longer there now. It must have disappeared during the last days of Aurangzeb or later on in the days of his successors. Its neighbourhood is full of statues and stone figures big and small, mostly broken, scattered all round or buried underground.

In addition to the Bhima Devi temple in Panjaur, there are temples of the following other goddesses in the neighbouring villages : Chandi Devi, Bar Khandi Devi, Ganesh Devi, Lanka Kali Kalka, Mansa Devi, Bala Sundri and Mansa Devi (Mani Majra).

Fidai Khan, however, did not stay here for long. As a story has it, the place was found to be grotous and was abandoned. It was reoccupied by the Raja of Nahan in 1675.

With the conquest of Sirhind by the Sikhs in January 1764, many new states came into existence. Mani-Majra was one of them. Its chief Gharib Das took possession of the valley of Panjaur in about 1766. He could not, however, retain it for more than two years. Raja Kirat Parkash of Nahan appealed to his friend Maharaja Amar Singh of Patiala who sent an army under Malik Lakhna and restored it to Nahan in 1769. But Nahan lost it again to Mani-Majra. Kirat Parkash died in 1775. Three years later Maharaja Amar Singh despatched a force under his Sardars Maha Singh and Pakhar Singh in 1778, reconquered Panjaur and annexed it to the Patiala State, Nahan having proved incapable of holding it.

Louis Bourquin, a French adventurer in Maratha service, occupied it in about 1792 and dismantled the fortress of Panjaur which has completely disappeared. The place was vacated by Bourquin after his discomfiture in April 1803. Since then it has remained in the undisturbed possession of the Patiala State except for some time in 1810 when it was threatened by the Gurkhas under Amar Singh Thapa.

To begin with, Panjaur was a *tahsil* of the Patiala State. In 1861, during the reign of Maharaja Narinder Singh, it became a full-fledged district of *nizamat*, with its headquarters at Rajpura, comprising four *tahsils* of Rajpura, Banur, Panjaur and Ghanaur. In 1918, however, the *nizamat* of Panjaur was converted into that of Kohistan and the

5. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, edited by Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p. 35.

6. Tara Singh Narotam, *Sri Guru Tirath Sangreh* (Ambala, 1884), p. 13; Gian Singh, *Ripudaman Parkash* (Patiala, 1916), pp. 177-78; Thakar Singh Giani, *Gurdwara Darshan*, p. 27; Kahan Singh, *Mahan Kosh*, Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature, vol. III, p. 2375.

town of Panjaur was included in the tahsil of Kandaghat.

Panjaur is also celebrated for a Hindu *tirtha* or sacred tank known as *Dhara-chhetar* or *Dhara-Mandal*.

Near the *tirtha*, there is a Sikh Gurdwara sacred to the memory of Guru Nanak, constructed during the reign of Maharaja Karam Singh, with an endowment of 88 *bighas* of land and a cash grant of Rs. 51/-. Here a fair is held on Baisakh *Sudi* 3, the birth of Guru Nanak, and continues for five days up to the 7th.

The mosque of Panjaur is also a historical monument of the Muslim rulers who, according to Alexander Cunningham, repeatedly harried the place, threw down its temples and built a mosque out of their ruins.⁷ It stands to the east of the road and to the south east of Gurdwara of Guru Nanak. When Panjaur was in the possession of the rulers of Nahan the mosque was used as a grannery (store house). Later on during the rule of Patiala it was used as an ordinary lock-up for under trial prisoners. It was through Abdul Hakim, *naib tahsildar* of Panjaur, that the mosque was restore to the muslims for worship.

The importance of the place at present is due to its garden which may now, after the partition of the country, be said to be one of the best preserved gardens of northern India. The outer aspct of the garden is plane. Its beauty can best be appreciated when one looks at it from the fine arched gateway. This part of the building has a great deal of old design of architectural and archaeological interest. The Baradari palace (called the Rang Mahal) across the stream, the tank, the Sheesh Mahal, the water-falls and the lower terrace garden are all things of art and beauty and remained one of the splendour that was once Indian.

PATIALA

Patiala, the capital of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union, is comparatively a modern town, just two hundred years old. It lies in 30° 20' N. and 76° 28' E on the Rajpura Bhatinda Railway line, thirty four miles from Ambala Cantonment via Rajpura and only twenty five miles west of Ambala city by a straight *kacha* road through Simbli and Ghanaur.

7. *Report of A Tour in the Panjab in 1878-79* by Alexander Cunningham (Archaeological Survey of India), Vol. XIV, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 70-2.

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In the fifties of the eighteenth century, there stood an insignificant hamlet on a mound, called *Patan-wala-Theh*—the ruin of Patan—on the site of the present fort, the *Qila Mubarik*, in the heart of the city. As a tradition has it, some *Patan ki Rani* (Queen of Patan) lived at Patan. Recorded history gives no helpful clue to the family or date of the Rani. The word *Rani*, however, indicates that she was a Hindu, perhaps, of some Bhatti clan. The present Jat families do not claim to have any Rani ruling in this part of the country. Patan, if that was the name of the village of the Rani or her fortress, must have been sacked by some Muslim raider and reduced to a heap of ruins, as the word *theh* signifies. The hamlet referred to above, evidently, contained the houses of some of the original inhabitants devoted to their ancestral lands.

This *Patan-wala-Theh* was included in the *talluqdari* jurisdiction of Muhammad Saleh Khokhar who had his headquarters at Sanaur, about three and a half miles from the present city of Patiala. This was in the middle of the eighteenth century, Baba Ala Singh of the Phulkian family had by this time risen to eminence as a conqueror and had carved out a principality for himself with headquarters at Barnala.

He had extended the sphere of his conquests to the territories of Hissar with consequent additions to his power and territory. His co-operation with the central Mughal Government of India in the battle of Manupur against Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1748 and his subsequent relations with the government of Sirhind had raised his status and influence in the country, and he had come to be looked upon as a defender of the weak and helpless. It was about the year 1756 that Muhammad Saleh Khokhar of Sanaur voluntarily offered to Ala Singh his eighty four villages including Sanaur and the *theh* site of the present town of Patiala. No reason is assigned to this surrender. "The inference is," says S.N. Banerji, "that it was done by way of propitiating a man who was occupying villages far and near and might any day march an army on his territory."

Sardar Ala Singh sent Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh Kaleka to take formal possession of the ceded territory. At the suggestion of Sardar Sukhdas Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh Kaleka, the *theh* was selected in 1757 for the construction of a residential building, for the chief, known as *deorhi*, and for the erection of a mud fortress for the defence of the villages. This was situated to the east of the present fort, and the area is still known as *Sodhian da Gher*, the compound of Sodhis.

1948, said, "I must mention the notable contribution which His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala made to the unity and integrity of India. He took up the cause of the country at a time when there were few friends amongst the Princely order and when serious attempts were being made to balkanize India by means of one or more Rajasthans. It was his patriotic lead that contributed in a large measure to a change in the attitude of the Princes to the problem of accession to the Indian Dominion."

He took over the government of Patiala and EPS Union as its *Rajpramukh* on August 20, 1948 and has contributed considerably to the architectural beauty and glory of the city of Patiala. A large number of government buildings have been constructed in New Patiala. The New Rajindra Hospital, the Government Medical College and the Government College for Women have been built. These have enhanced the importance of Patiala.

With the merger of the Patiala and EPS Union with the Panjab Patiala, once the capital of the Patiala State and then of the PEPSU, has come to be reduced to the status of a district headquarters. The establishment of the Punjabi University here, however, have compensated it, to some extent, for the glory it has lost. Long live Patiala.

SAMANA

Samana lying in 30° 9' N. and 76° 15' E. at a distance of 17 miles south-west of Patiala, and 22 miles East of Sunam, is a place of considerable antiquity. According to a tradition Imamgarh covers the original site of the town which was enlarged and renamed by the fugitives of Samanide dynasty of Persia. It traces its history to the days of Raja Jaipal who ruled over the Panjab and the territories of Bhatinda, Samana, etc. It fell into the hands of Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghauri after the conquest of Ajmer and Delhi and was entrusted to Qutb-ud-Din Ibbak in 1192 along with the territories of Kurham and Sunam. According to Abdullah Wassaf, the author of the *Tazjiyat-ul-Amsar*, Samana was one of the most celebrated cities and tracts lying between Khurasan and Hindustan, equal in importance to Multan, Uch, Jalandhar, Sunam and Sirhind. (Farishta, p. 94; Elliot and Dowson, iii, p. 36.) Ibbak was also the Commander-in-Chief of the Ghaznavi's forces in India. He brought peace and prosperity to the area, and, with Kurham as his base depot, embarked on a

career of conquest. He soon took possession of Meerut and Delhi and established his authority over the country.

In the beginning of 1257 Samana became the centre of a rebellion against the Slave Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Mahmood of Delhi (1246-66) when Raja Devpal of Jitpur was supported by Kishli Khan of Sindh. But as the secret leaked out, it was nipped in the bud. (Farishta, p. 112.)

Samana at this time was included in the jagir of Sher Khan, a nephew (a-cousin, according to Farishta, p. 119) of Ghias-ud-Din Balban (1266-86). Sher Khan was an able administrator and a brave soldier. He was, however, secretly poisoned by his own uncle, and the fief of Samana was bestowed upon Timur (Tamar) Khan, one of the well known forty Shamsi slaves. It was later on transferred along with Sunam and all their dependencies to his (Balban's) own son Bughra Khan, entitled Nasir-ud-Din.

Prince Bughra Khan was a fine youngman. When sending him to his government in Samana, Ghias-ud-Din commanded him to increase his army by 100% and to increase the allowances to the old soldiers. "He also commanded him to promote the industrious and faithful officials and to give them grants of land. He further directed him to be particularly careful in appointing officers for his army so that he might be ready to repel any advance of the Mughals... The Sultan further directed him not to be hasty in his business but to consult with his officers and trusty followers on all matters of importance concerning the army and country... The Sultan forbade the use of wine to Bughra Khan. He observed that Samana was an important territory and its army most useful, and he threatened him that if he indulged in wine and in unseemly practices neglecting the interests of the army and country under his charge, he would assuredly remove him and give him no other employment... The son conducted himself honourably and gave up improper indulgence." (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Elliot & Dowson, ii, pp. 111-12.)

At this time, says Zia-ud-Din Barni, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, the Mughal horse crossed the river Beas and spread terror in the country to the North and South of the Satluj. Sultan Ghias-ud-Din ordered his sons Muhammad Sultan from Multan, Bughra Khan from Samana and Malik Yar Beg Barlas from Delhi to oppose the advancing invaders. A number of battles were fought in the Doaba near Sultanpur in the district of Kapurthala and the Mughals were

pushed back with severe losses. (*Ibid.*)

Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Balban visited Samana and Sunam with a view to fitting out a strong expeditionary force against Tughril of Lakhnauti who had worsted the imperial forces on more than one occasion. Ghias-ud-Din, however, gave out that he was going to Samana for a hunting excursion. Having made the necessary preparations for the expedition he marched upon Lakhnauti at the head of a huge army. He desired his son Bughra Khan to accompany him and appointed Malik Siraj as the *Naib* of Samana. During the short reign of Ghias-ud-Din's successor and grand-son Muaz-ud-Din Ke-qubad (1286-88) Siraj was succeeded at Samana by Malik Jalal-ud-Din Firoz who rose to be the Emperor of India (1288-95) and founded the Khalji dynasty. He was a kind hearted ruler, an amiable and good man, brave and courageous. He defeated the Mughal invaders of India in 1291 in a general action fought in the Panjab and by his wise measures he kept them away from the country. But 'in this world the wise are depressed,' says Wassaf, 'and the unworthy raised to honour and prosperity.' Mahmood Saalim of Samana was responsible for the treacherous assassination of Jalal-ud-Din at the instance of his nephew and son-in-law Ala-ud-Din Khalji who usurped the throne.

The reign of Ala-ud-Din (1296-1316) is best known for the repulsion of the Mughal invaders who descended upon India a number of times. Malik Hazbar-ud-Din Zafar Khan, a *jagirdar* of Samana, rendered yeoman's service to the country against the Mughals and died fighting against them in 1296.

Malik Almas Beg Alagh Khan (Malik Beg Saki) the governor of Samana, was selected by Ala-ud-Din for the conquest of the Rajput stronghold of Ranthambor.

Almas was succeeded by Malik Baha-ud-Din who continued to hold Samana as his *jagir* during the days of Kutb-ud-Din Mubarik Shah (1316-21).

Sunam, Samana and Kurham were the centres of two rebellions of Mandahar, Chauhan and Bhatti Rajputs during the time of Emperor Muhammad Tughlak (1325-51) who had himself to proceed against them. Zia-ud-Din Barni, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, gives a detailed account of campaign led personally by Muhammad Tughlak in 743 A.H. 1342 A.D., and the inquisitive reader is referred to it under *Ghuram* (Elliot & Dowson, iii, p. 243).

Under the Khaljis and the early Tughlaks Samana enjoyed great political and administrative importance and held the northern territory of Sirhind in its jurisdiction. In 1360 Firoz Shah Tughlak rebuilt the old fort of Sirhind and cut a canal from Sirsa, a tributary of the Satluj, to Sunam through Sirhind and Mansurpur (Chhintanwala) and constituted the district of Sirhind as a separate administrative unit. Samana at that time was also a centre of learning and one Mualana Kamal-ud-Din was a person of great repute and was occasionally consulted by Emperor Firoz Shah on matters of importance. Towards the end of his life when he had attained the age of ninety years, Firoz Shah ordered a royal official, Malik Sultan Shah Khushdil by name, to arrest Ali Khan Afghan, the governor of Samana, a friend of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Shah, and make over its government to Muhammad Shah. Khushdil, however, usurped the government for himself. But he was not a popular man. During the short reign of Abu Bakar, who had come to throne in February 1389 after Ghias-ud-Din, a grandson and successor of Firoz Shah, had been put to death in October 1389, the leading men of Samana rose in rebellion against Malik Sultan Shah Khushdil, and put him to death at the tank of Sunam and sent his head to Prince Muhammad (son of Firoz Shah) at Nagar Kot inviting him to their town with offers of assistance. The prince hastened to Samana, proclaimed himself the Emperor of India under the title of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Tughlak II and hurried down to Delhi to claim the crown and throne of his ancestors (1389 A.D.)

Hundreds of the nobles of Samana and *zamindars* (land owners) of the submontane tracts flocked to his standard. Some of the nobles of Abu Bakar himself joined the Prince. By the time he reached the environs of Delhi he had collected as many as fifty thousand horsemen. He reached the palace of Jahan-Numa on 25th Rabi-ul-Akhir 791 A.H., April 23, 1389.

A battle was fought between Prince Muhammad and Sultan Abu-Bakar Shah on 2nd Jamadi-ul-Awwal, April 29, and the prince suffered a defeat. He then crossed the Jamuna with 2,000 horse and moved to Jalesar in the Doab. He, however, sent his son Humayun Khan to Samana to collect and join him. A fresh army of 50,000 horse and foot was raised and the Prince once again marched upon Delhi, with no better result. Returning to Jalesar, he issued orders to the people of Lahore, Multan and other places to kill the dependents of Firoz Shah

wherever found. A general massacre and great devastation ensued.

Samana still continued to be the rendezvous of Prince Muhammad's power, and his son returned to it for troops in their struggle for the capital. On November 29, 1389 he succeeded in deposing Abu Bakar and installing himself on the throne with the continued help of the nobles of Samana (*Zubda-tu-Tawarikh*, Elliot and Dowson, vi, pp. 186-87). At this time the fiefs of Malik Zia-ud-Din Aburja, Rai Kamal-ud-Din Miana and Kul Chand Bhatti lay in that quarter and they were all strong supporters of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad and his son Humayun.

On the death of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad in February 1394, he was succeeded by his son Humayun with the title of Sikandar but he died within a month and a half and was followed by Mahmood Tughlak, a son of the late Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad.

In 1396 Sarang Khan, the brother of Mallu, an important nobleman of Delhi, took forcible possession of Multan from Amir Khizar Khan in the month of Ramzan 799 (May 1397), marched against Samana and besieged its Amir Ghalib Khan. Unable to hold out for long, Ghalib Khan fled to Panipat with a small party of horse and joined Tatar Khan. Sultan Mahmood despatched a small army under the command of Malik Almas with orders to Tatar Khan to march against Samana, expell Sarang Khan and to reinstate Ghalib. A battle was fought at the village of Kotla (evidently Kotla Nasru, to the east of Samana) on Muharram 15, 800 A.H. (October 8-9, 1397 A.D.) and Tatar Khan gained the victory.

Sarang Khan fled towards Multan and Ghalib Khan was reinstated at Samana (*Turikh-i-Mubarikh Shahi*, pp. 161-62, Elliot and Dowson, iv, p. 32).

Samana was left untouched by Timur during his invasion of India in 1398-99. While Timur himself marched upon Bhatner, he deputed Amir Shah Malik and Daulat Timur to move with a large army, by way of Dipalpar, towards Delhi and wait for him at Samana. On his way to Delhi Timur learnt at the village of Aspandi (Rabi-ul-Awwal 22, 801 A.H. (December 1398), about seven *kos* from Samana, that the people of Samana, Kaithal and Aspandi had set fire to their houses and fled towards Delhi and the whole country was deserted. (*Mulfuzat-i-Timur*, *Zafarnama*, Elliot and Dowson, iii, pp. 431, 487).

Ghalib Khan held the government of Samana in 1400 after the departure of Timur. He was succeeded by Bairam Khan *Turk-bacha*.

The invasion of Timur reduced Sultan Mahmood Tughlak to a nominal ruler. The real power passed into the hands of his minister Mallu Iqbal Khan who marched upon Samana in 1405 and drove Bahram Khan to the hills. A reconciliation appears to have been effected between the two and Bahram Khan was reinstated. He was, however, carried towards Multan and was flayed on the way.

On his arrival near the district of Ajodhan Iqbal Khan was met by Sayyad Khizar Khan and a large army was killed in a battle on Jamadi-ul-Awwal 19, 808 A.H. (November 12, 1405).

After the murder of Bahram Khan, Bairam Khan another Turkish slave, took possession of the Shikk of Samana. Daulat Khan Lodhi was sent by Sultan Mahmood Tughlak against Samana. A battle was fought on Rajab 11, 809 A.H. (December 12, 1406) about three miles from Samana and Daulat Khan was victorious. Bairam Khan fled to Sirhind, but was forgiven by Daulat Khan. Bairam Khan had previously entered into an alliance with Sayyad Khizar Khan with a promise to serve him in time of need. On hearing of the capture of Samana by Daulat Khan and of the flight of his friend Bairam, Khizar Khan proceeded with a large force against Daulat Khan who fled across the Jamuna. The fiefs of Samana and Sunam were taken from Bairam Khan and given to Zirak Khan while the fiefs of Sirhind and some other *parganahs* were given to Bairam Khan.

In 812 A.H. (1409 A.D.) Bairam Khan *Turk-bacha*, joined himself to Daulat Khan Lodhi to dislodge Zirak Khan from Samana. Sayyad Khizar Khan took up the cause of Zirak and proceeded to Sirhind. Bairam Khan found himself helpless and submitted to Khizar Khan who restored him to his fiefs.

After the death of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Mahmood in October 1412, Daulat Khan Lodhi held the government of Delhi for some time. In May 1414 Sayyad Khizar Khan took possession of Delhi and became the Emperor of India.

Zirak Khan continued to hold the government of Samana during the reign of his patron Sayyad Khizar Khan (1414-21) and rendered him useful service in the suppression of rebels. In July 1416 he was deputed to accompany Malik Daud, Secretary to the Sultan, for the suppression of *Turk-bachas* of the family of Bairam Khan who had murdered Malik Sadhu Nadira, the deputy governor of Sirhind, a representative of Prince Mubarik to whom Sirhind had been assigned after the death of Bairam Khan. The rebels fled across the Satluj to

the mountains beyond the reach of their persuers.

One saint Bindraban of Samana is said to have predicted the rise of Bahlol Lodhi to royalty. Bahlol was the posthumous son of Malik Kala who held the district of Doraha on behalf of his elder brother Malik Islam Khan, the governor of Sirhind. He was a man religious bent of mind. He once visited saint Bindraban at Samana. The saint look up and said, "oh, you are the person to purchase the kingdom of Delhi for two thousand (*tankas*).” Bahlol then had only 1600 *tankas* with him. He placed this sum at the feet of the saint who was pleased with the amount and blessed Bahlol with the Saltanet of Hindustan.

Bahlol was raised to the government of Sirhind during the reign of Sayyad Mubarik Shah (1421-35) and became the *Khan-i-Khanan* under Sayyad Muhammad Shah (1435-45).

With the gradual decline of the Sayyads, Bahlol gained power and established his control over Lahore, Dipalpur, Sunam, Hissar and other places, with his headquarters at Sirhind and assumed the kingship of Hindustan in 1450 on the abdication of Sayyad Ala-ud-Din.

With the increasing importance of Sirhind under the Mughals, Samana had a little set back. There is no important mention of Samana during the early part of the reign of Babar (1526-30). During his return journey from Lahore in 1530, the Qazi of Samana complained to him that a Mundahir Rajpoot, Mohan by name, had attacked his estates at Samana, burnt and plundered his property and killed his son.

Babar ordered an expedition under Ali-Quli of Hamadan with three thousand horses to avenge the Qazi's wrongs. Ali-Quli besieged the village of Mohan in the Kaithal *pargana*. It was so cold in the morning that the archers could not pull their bows. The villagers issued from their warm houses and offered so stiff a resistance as to compel the soldiers of Babar, to retire. The besiegers made another effort and that also failed. On hearing of their failure Babar sent Tarsama Bahadur and Nauran Beg with six thousand horse and many elephants. The force reached the village at night when the festivities of a marriage were in progress. Towards morning the force was formed into 3 divisions one of which was ordered to go to the west of the village and show itself. This having been done, the villagers moved out to attack the force. The royal troops, as ordered beforehand, turned their backs and fled. The Mundahirs pursued them for some two miles. Finding the village undefended, Tarsama Bahadur attacked it and killed many of its inhabi-

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tants. About a thousand women and children were made prisoners. There was a great slaughter and a pillar of heads was raised. Mohan was captured and was buried to the waist and shot to death with arrows.

While Samana is said to be a place of saints and scholars during the Mughal days, it is notorious for its professional executioners who served at Delhi and Sirhind. Shashal Beg and Bashal Beg who mercilessly butchered to death the younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh in the Xmas week of 1704 also belonged to this place. The hated town of Samana was, therefore, one of the first to be sacked by the Sikhs under Banda Singh. Moreover, it was one of the richest towns in these districts and was expected to yield a large booty.

On November 26, 1709 Banda Singh and his men suddenly rushed upon the town from a distance of about fifteen miles and entered it from all sides before the gates could be closed against them. A regular battle was fought in the streets and *bazaars* of the town and pools of blood flowed through its drains. Many of the nobles shut themselves in their fortress like *hevelis* but they could not stand against the infuriated peasantry of the neighbouring villages who availed themselves of this opportunity to wreak vengeance upon their personal enemies and set fire to their houses. Thus before nightfall the beautiful town of Samana with its palatial buildings was reduced to heap of ruins, never to regain its past glory. Bhai Fateh Singh was appointed the *faujdar* of the place with its nine dependent *parganahs*. Although Kaithal had been conquered before this, Samana has generally been called by historians the first conquest of Banda Singh. But the Mughals were yet too strong for the rising power of the Sikhs and Samana had to be given up by them towards the end of 1710. It was retaken in about 1742 by Baba Ala Singh, the founder of the Patiala Ruling Family and was recognised as a part of his territories in 1761 by Ahmad Shah. The *parganah* of Samana then had as many as 224 villages attached to it. Since then it continued to be a part of the Patiala State upto 1948 when the Patiala and East Punjab States Union was formed.

PAYAL

The present town of Payal, lying in 30° 40' N. and 76° 7' E., six miles south of Doraha and five miles south west of Chawa Railway Station, is situated on a mound of ruins of an old village, of which nothing is known at present. More than seven hundred years ago, it is said, a Muhammadan *faqir*, Hasan Shah by name, came here and took his abode on the mound. He was followed by some Seoni Khattris of Chiniot who settled here at his suggestion. While digging

the foundations, the Khattris came across a *pazeb* or *payal*, a woman's foot ornament. This was taken to the *faqir* who suggested that the new town might be named *payal* after the ornament.

Shah Hasan died at this place and his tomb still stands in the town where a fair used to be held annually by the Muslims before the partition of the country.

Payal gradually grew in importance and became a *parganah* in the *sarkar* of Sirhind under the Mughals. When a rebellious relative of Emperor Akbar, named Ibrahim Hussain Mirza, fled to the Panjab, he plundered Sirhind in 1573 and ravaged the country on his way. "When he arrived at Payal," says Mullah Abdul Qadir Badayuni in his *Muntakhib-u-Tawarikh*, "his men committed such atrocities upon Musulman people as cannot well be described. In that town, twelve virgins were ravished with such violence that several of them died. Other places fared in the same way." The Mirza was pursued by the imperial forces into the Panjab and thence to Multan where he died a wounded prisoner.

It was at Payal, during his expeditionary march to the Panjab in March 1581, that Emperor Akbar heard the pleasant news that his rebel half-brother, Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Kabul, who had marched upon Lahore in the hope of securing it, had withdrawn from the Panjab. The Emperor, however, marched on to Kabul where he restored province to his brother through his sister.

Under the later Mughals, the *parganah* of Payal formed a part of the Pathan State of Malerkotla and was annexed by Maharaja Amar Singh to the state of Patiala in 1766.

SIRHIND

Sirhind situated in 30° 38' N. and 76° 27' E. at a distance of 23 miles north of Patiala and 28 miles north west of Ambala, on the Northern Railway, is one of the best known historical places of the Patiala and the East Panjab States Union.

Name

The name of the place does not owe its origin, as it is generally supposed to be, to the Persian words *Sar-i-Hind* (the top or head of Hind) being the last important town on the north western boundary of India—the land of the Panjab to the north of the Satluj having remained for a long time a part of the Afghan Kingdom to which it was annexed by its early Muhammadan rulers. The town is very much

older than the advent of the Persian speaking Muhammadans. And the name was lent to it by the early Aryan tribe of the *Sairindhas* who were one of the first to settle here in the days of the early immigrations.

The Satudra Desa

The first mention of the place is made in the *Prashar Tantra*, a book of astrology, quoted by Varah Mihir in his *Brihat Sanhita*. It was then the capital of the Satudra Desa or the Satluj District which was inhabited by the Sairindhas.¹

The astronomer Varah Mihir, according to Alexander Cunningham "mentions the Sairindhas immediately after the Kulutas or people of Kulu, and just before Brahampur, which as we learn from the Chinese pilgrim (Huen Tsang), was the capital of the hill country to the north of Haridwar. The Sairindhas or people of Sirindha, must, therefore, have occupied the very trace of the country in which the present Sirhind is situated, and there can be little doubt that the two names are the same....And that Sirhind must be the place indicated by the pilgrim as the capital of the ancient district of Satudra. This conclusion is strengthened by the pilgrim's statement that the country produced gold, which so far as I know, can only apply to the lower hills lying to the north of Sirhind, where gold is still found in some of the smaller affluents of the Satlej." (Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 167-69.)

The boundaries of the Satudra Desa, with Sirhind as its capital, may be determined from its size. On the north of it was bounded by the Satluj, from the Simla hills south of Kulu to Tihara to the west of Ludhiana. To the south it extended up to Ambala between the Ghaggar and the Saraswati, having Sthaneshwar (modern Thanesar) to the south. The lines drawn from Ambala to Simla and from Tihara to Ambala would roughly form its eastern and western boundaries. Thus, according to modern geography, beginning from the north, the district of Ludhiana, Anandpur and Kiratpur tract of the Una tehsil of the Hoshiarpur district, the erstwhile state of Nalagarh, the Simla hills, north eastern part of the Ambala teshsil, the Rajpura and Nabha tehsils of Patiala district and the district of Fatehgarh Sahib

1. The traditional account of Wali-Ullah Siddiqi in the *Ain-i-Brar Bans* that Sirhind was founded by Sahir Rao of Lahore, and of Nur-ud-Din Sirhindi in the *Rauza-tu-Qayum* assigning its foundation to the days of Feroz Shah III, do not stand the test of historical scrutiny. Some Persian writers have confused Sirhind with Tabarhind which is only a mis-reading of the work—a thing not very uncommon in the Persian script.

of the Patiala and EPS Union formed the Satudra Desa.

According to Al-Beruni's *Al-hind*—Sirhind was at first ruled by the *Chandrabansi* and then by the *Surajbansi* kings. In the later Hindu period it was an important frontier town, particularly under the Pal Kings of Lahore whose southern boundary extended to beyond Thanesar. And according to Farishta, it was the most easterly possession of the Brahman kings of Kabul.

Under the Ghauris and Slaves

It attracted the notice of Mahmood of Ghazni in 1011 and was pillaged by him during his sixth invasion of India when he sacked the town and temples of Thanesar. The Muslim hold on the country was not then permanent. Sirhind, therefore, remained undisturbed for 180 years till Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghauri attacked and conquered the fort in 1191 and placed it under the command of Zia-ud-Din Kazi Tolak. It was retaken by Khande Rai, brother of Rai Pithaura-Prithvi Raj Chauhan—after a siege of thirteen months. But Prithvi Raj was defeated by Muhammad Ghauri in the battle of Tarain or Tarawari in 1193 and Sirhind again fell to the Ghauri (*Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, pp. 185-86).

On the death of Muhammad Ghauri, his nephew Mahmood assumed the royal title at Gaur and invested his uncle Kutab-ud-Din Ibbak, the Viceroy of India, with kingship. He was crowned as the first Muslim king of Lahore on July 24, 1205. Sirhind was included in his dominions and was placed in the charge of a governor. During the short reign of his weak and irresolute son, Aram, Malik Nasir-ud-Din Kubacha, an adopted slave of the Ghauri, declared himself independent and took possession of the territories of Bhatinda, Sirhind, Ghurham (Kuhram and Kahram of the Persian writers) and Saraswati (Thanesar) in 1210. The usurper soon met his deserts and war dislodged by Sultan Shams-ud-Din Altutmash who drove him towards Multan and Sindh.

In 1246, during the reign of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmood (1246-66) of the Slave dynasty, the government of the Panjab, including Multan, Bhatner, Bhatinda and Sirhind, bestowed upon Malik Ghias-ud-Din Balban's talented nephew Sher Khan, with the title of Muazam Khan. The administration of Sirhind was run by a deputy governor on his behalf. Sher Khan was an able administrator and a good soldier. He built a strong fort at Sirhind and repaired the forts of Bhatinda and Bhatner and maintained a standing army to guard against the

hostile movement of the Mughals had then becomes the masters of Afghanistan.

Sirhind continued to be an important stronghold of the Khalji Sultans of Delhi who, for political and administrative reasons, subordinated it to the *parganah* of Samana, in which state it continued until 1360 when the Sirhind fort was rebuilt and made the capital of an independent district.

Sirhind Canal

Firoz Shah Tughlak (1351-1388), however, paid a more favourable attention to it. During one of his visits to the hills of Bardar (Sirmur, in the vicinity of Panjaur, according to Minhaj-us-Siraj's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*) in May 1361, he was told that if a certain earth-hill could be cut through the water of the Saraswati (evidently the Sarsa) flowing into the channel of the Salima stream which would flow through Sirhind and Mansurpur, and thence to Sunam, keeping up a perpetual supply. The suggestion was at once taken up. The hill was ordered to be cut through and a regular canal was constructed to irrigate the waterless area of Sirhind. At the same time he separated it in 1360, to as far as within ten *kos* of Samana, from the *Shikk* of Samana and created a *parganah* of its own and gave it into the charge of Malik Zia-ul-Mulk Shams-ud-Din Aburja with instructions to bring its barren under cultivation. (*Tarikh-i-Mubarik Shahi*, p. 130.)

The Sayyads

During the reign of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmood Tughlak (1394-1412), one Bairam Khan, a *Turk-bacha*, obtained the fiefs of Sirhind and some *parganahs* through Sayyad Khizar Khan, Governor of the Panjab. In 812 A.H. (1409), Bairam Khan, in conspiracy with Daulat Khan Lodhi, tried to dislodge Zirak Khan of Samana but his effort was foiled by the timely assistance of Sayyad Khizar Khan.

On the death of Bairam Khan in 818 A.H. (1415 A.D.), Sultan Sayyad Khizar Khan (1412-21) granted the districts of Ferozepur and Sirhind, and other *iqtas*, to his son Prince Mubarik, who on his behalf sent Malik Sadhu-Nadira as a representative or deputy governor. In the month of Jamadi-ul-Awal 819 A.H. (July 1416) some *Turk-bachas* of the family of Bairam Khan treacherously murdered Malik Sadhu and seized the fort of Sirhind. Sultan Khizar Khan sent Malik Daood, his *dabir* (secretary) and Amir Zirak Khan to put down these rebels. The *Turk-bachas* fled across the Satluj and escaped to the mountains beyond the reach of Daood.

that a neighbouring village is still called Mir Miran ka Dera or Mir-i-Miran. (Four Reports, 1862-63, 64 and 65. *Archaeological Survey*, Simla, 1871, Vol. II, p. 207.)

Sikandar reigned at Delhi for twenty-eight years from 1488 to 1516 and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim who lost the empire of India to Babar in 1526.

Conquered by Babar

Babar came as far as Sirhind for the first time in 1524 on his way to Delhi during his fourth expedition when Daulat Khan Lodhi of Lahore, after some time, turned a rebel. Babar had then to return to Kabul disappointed. In 1526, however, during his last invasion of India, he stayed here for some time and prepared for the final successful struggle with Ibrahim Lodhi for the empire of India. In 1527 he conferred the *Sarkar* of Sirhind on Sultan Muhammad Dauldai of Kanauj and called upon him during the following year to accompany Chin Taimur Sultan for the expulsion of Baloch raiders. The *Tarikh-i-Salatīn-i-Afghanah* tells us that in 1529 Babar stayed at Sirhind during his journey to Lahore and was met by the Raja of Kahlur who presented to him seven falcons and three *maunds* of gold. The occasion was taken by Babar to confirm the Raja in his fief (of Bilaspur).

During his return journey in 1530, the Qazi of Samana complained to him at Sirhind that Mohan Mundahir had attacked his estate, plundered his property and killed his son. By the Emperor's order an expedition was organized against him. The first attack under Ali Kuli Khan failed to curb Mohan. A large force was, therefore, despatched under Tarsam Beg and Nauruz Bahadur who were successful in defeating the rebel Mundahirs and killing their leader. Throughout this period the emperor continued to stay in Sirhind. (Elliot and Dowson, V, pp. 40-2; *Babur's Memoirs* (King), Vol. II, p. 420.)

The revenue of Sirhind during the reign of Babar is given as one crore 29 lac and 32 thousand *tankas*.

After his death in 1530 Babar was succeeded by his son Humayun who was discomfited by Sher Khan (later on Sher Shah) Suri in 1540 and driven out of India.

The confused state of affairs that followed the death of Salim Shah Suri offered a favourable opportunity to Humayun, son of Babar, to return to India in 1555. Kandhar and Lahore were occupied without much opposition. The first serious contest between the

Mughals and the Afghans took place at Sirhind where an easy victory was won by the advance army. But Sultan Sikandar Shah Afghan, who held possession of the imperial capital of Delhi, marched to Sirhind with eighty thousand horse and elephants to have another trial of strength. He could not, however, stand against the duntless courage and determined resolution of the Mughal generals, with Prince Akbar at their head, to whom the honour of the victory was ascribed in the despatch of the battle.

Akbar Added to its Glory

Under the Mughals Sirhind not only maintained its old importance but also added to its beauty and glory as a city of rich *bazaars* and magnificent gardens. Emperor Akbar was greatly pleased with the bazaars of this town when he visited it in 974 A.H. on his way to Lahore in pursuit of the rebellious Mirza Muhammad Hakim. He commended its *Shikkar* Hafiz Rakhna and placed the *sarkardari* of the place in his charge. (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Elliot and Dowson, pp. 237-38, 313-14; Cunningham, *Archaeological Report 1863-64*, p. 208.)

The Emperor also made the rival cities of Sunam and Samana subordinate to it and included them in the *sarkar* of Sirhind attached to the *subah* of Delhi. Its prosperity was further increased by the gradual encroachments of the sandy desert which at last forced the Mughal emperors to abandon the old lines of road by Hansi and Sunam and to seek for a permanent line farther to the north by Ambala and Sirhind. During the reign of Akbar and of his three successors, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, the city of Sirhind expanded on all sides and developed into one of the most flourishing cities of the empire, and this period belonged nearly all the magnificent buildings that made Sirhind what it was in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Some idea of the great extent of the city at that time may be formed from the popular belief that it contained as many as 360 mosques with numerous mausoleums, forts, *serais*, schools and wells. Some of the mosques and mausoleums stand to the present day and numerous well may still be seen amongst the heaps of the vast brick ruins which surround the town for several miles.

Saint Mujaddad Alf Sani And Jahangir

The great saint and scholar Shaikh Ahmad Farooqi Sirhindi, popularly known as *Mujaddad Alf Sani* (1564-1624), lived here during the reign of Emperors Akbar and Jahangir. His *maktubat* and other Islamic literature and the writings of his *khalifas* and disciples are a

source of inspiration to a large number of Muslims of India, Pakistan and Afghanistan, particularly of the Naqshbandi Sect.

Shaikh Ahmad was a man of sincere conviction and indomitable courage. Even the great Mughal could not overawe him. He was once summoned to the royal presence of Emperor Jahangir to answer the charge that he considered himself greater than the great Califfs of Islam. The Shaikh replied: "Just as a person summoned by His Majesty to his presence is nearer to him than all *amirs* at the time of conversation, likewise there is no sin and blasphemy when I say that while in his presence of Allah I leave the Califfs behind me."

The Shaikh had not also observed the formality of prostration of *sijdah* before the Emperor when going into his presence. When questioned on this point he said, "*Sijdah* is due to God alone and not to any mortal." The great Mughal took it as a personal insult. And, perhaps, he only wanted an excuse to suppress the heresy of the Shaikh who was claimed by his disciples to be the *Mehdi*, the prophet, and whose book the *Muktubat* was judged by him to be an 'album of absurdities,' dragging people into infidelity. The Emperor immediately handed over the Shaikh to Ani Rai Singh Dalan to be imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, usually reserved for political prisoners. He was, however, released after two years. (Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 377.)

The tomb of the Mujaddad is known as the *Rauza Sharif*. There are a number of other graves in the compound, mostly of the members of his house. But the mausoleum of the great reformer is the *rauza* par-excellence. The *khanqah* area, as demarcated in the time of the Maharaja Rajinder Singh, measured 37 *bighas* and 6 *biswas*.

The office of the *Sajjada-Nashin* or *Majawar* has been confined to the descendants of the Mujaddad and the mausoleum has been maintained by the offerings of pilgrims and visitors. The Patiala State always took a keen interest in the protection and proper management of the shrine. In 1838 some Akalis took possession of some of its lands but they were dislodged by the orders of Maharaja Karam Singh dated January 31, 1838, and the land forcibly seized was restored to the custodians of the *rauza*. In the time of Maharaja Mahinder Singh the boundary of the *Rauza Sharif* was demarcated and a boundary-wall was constructed by Mahboob Ali Shah, the then *Sajjada-Nashin*.

During the disturbance of 1947 the shrine was protected by the

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Patiala State and its Muslim custodian continues to stay there undisturbed.

Near the *rauza* is mausoleum of Imam Rafi-ud-Din, a man of great piety, an ancestor of the Mujaddad. The *rauza* of Shaikh Muhammad. Ma'soom Kabuli son of the Mujaddad is known *Rauzja Chini* on account of its excellent mosaic work.

Dara Shikoh at Sirhind

When the unlucky prince Dara Shikoh had to fly for his life to the Panjab before his brother Aurangzeb, the people of Sirhind pointed out to him the hidden wealth of Raja Todar Mall, the *mutasaddi* of the place, who had, perhaps, farsightedly disappeared towards the Lakhi jungle. Thus the prince was able to secure a treasure of about twenty lacs of rupees to be helpful to him in his unsuccessful flight.

Suppression of Sikh Movement

The rise and progress of Sikhism was contemporaneous with the establishment and stability of the Mughal rule in India. Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was a contemporary of Babar, the first Mughal emperor, and Guru Gobind Singh, the last and the tenth of the Sikh Gurus, died a year after the death of Emperor Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Mughals. The Sikh movement had introduced a new socio-political consciousness to the people of the country and the Mughals saw in it a danger to their autocratic tyranny. Guru Arjan was put to death at Lahore under the orders of Jahangir. Guru Hargobind was repeatedly harrassed by the forces of Shah Jahan. Guru Tegh Bahadur was executed at Delhi by Aurangzeb and Guru Gobind Singh had to fight as many as fourteen battles against the local and imperial forces. Nawab Wazir Khan of Sirhind was the chief persecutor of the tenth Guru who had ultimately to leave his ancestral home at Anandpur, in the Hoshiarpur district, and seek shelter in the sandy deserts of Kot Kapura and Bhatinda, now in the Patiala and EPS Union. Two of his sons Ajit Singh and Jujhar Singh were killed fighting at Chamkaur against the force of Wazir Khan while the youngest two Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh, aged eight and six were bricked up alive and butchered to death at Sirhind on December 27, 1704, under the presence of Wazir Khan. The Guru's aged mother also died of grief in the captivity of the Nawab. All this had a terrible reaction. With in two years of Guru Gobind Singh's death in October 1708, his devoted disciple Banda Singh, with the zeal of a new convert, led an army of revenge against Sirhind in May 1710 and defeated and killed Wazir

Khan in an open fight and occupied the entire territory. Sardar Baj Singh was appointed the governor of Sirhind, with Ali Singh as his deputy. But the Mughals were yet too strong for Banda Singh and companions who were worsted in 1715 and executed in Delhi in March-June 1716.

A memorial, with the name of Fatehgarh Sahib, was raised here in 1710 during the days of Banda Singh. Maharaja Karam Singh of Patiala renamed the town of Sirhind as Fatehgarh Sahib.

The place where the martyred boys and their grandmother were cremated is known as Joti Sarup Gurdwara. It is situated at a distance of about a mile to the south east of Fatehgarh Sahib.

Durrani Dislodged by Sikh and Marathas

During the last days of Emperor Muhammad Shah, when Ali Muhammad Khan Rohila was the governor of Sirhind, Ahmad Shah Durrani, the father of modern Afghanistan, captured the place during his first Indian invasion in February 1748. He was, however, defeated in the battle of Manupur in March and forced to fly back to his country. The Durrani occupied Sirhind a second time in 1757, defeated the Delhi forces, and allowed Alamgir II to retain his crown and throne. The territory of Sirhind was annexed to his own dominions and was placed under an Afghan governor Abdus-Samad Khan. He was dislodged in 1758 by the joint forces of the Sikhs and Marathas who then marched upon the Panjab and turned out Ahmad Shah's son Prince Taimur from Lahore. Ahmad Shah wreaked his vengeance upon the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat on January 14, 1761, and inflicted a heavy loss of life upon the Sikhs in the great holocaust, the *ghalughara*, of February 5, 1762.

On his way back the Shah ordered the Sikh temple of Amritsar to be blow up with gun-powder. The attached *bungas* were razed to the ground and their sacred tank was desecrated with the blood and bones of men and cows and filled up with the debris of the demolished edifices. But the Sikhs remained unconquered and their spirit uncrushed. Within four months of the holocaust, wherein they had lost about twenty thousand lives in one day, they were up in arms against Zain Khan, the Afghan governor of Sirhind, and inflicted a heavy defeat upon him. They rose on all sides, consolidated their conquests in 1763 and prepared themselves to strike a final blow upon the Durrani power in India. The combined forces of the Sikhs, with Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala as their leader, measured swords with the Afghans on the third anniver-

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sary of the battle of Panipat, on January 14, 1764. Zain Khan was killed in the battle of Manhera, and with him disappeared every trace of foreign bondage from this part of the country. The entire province of Sirhind about 220 miles in length and about 160 miles in width, extending from the Satluj in north to the districts of Karnal and Rohtak in the south and from the boundary of the Bahawalpur State on the west to the Jamuna in the east was freed. The town was pillaged and destroyed by the revengeful Sikhs for the murder of Guru Gobind Singh's sons, and to fulfil a prophecy ascribed to the Guru, some of the places were actually ploughed with yokes of donkeys by the leading Sardars scattering the ruins of the Mughal mansions all over the place. Even up to this day the Sikhs passing through Sirhind are some times seen carrying bricks from this place to be thrown into the Jamuna when travelling beyond that river and into the Satluj when going towards the north. The prophecy was literally fulfilled in the construction of the railway line from the Jamuna to the Satluj which was ballasted with bricks from the ruins of Sirhind.

Purchased by Ala Singh

The territory was divided among the Sikh Sirdars. But the fate of the town of Sirhind was very unenviable. Nobody was willing to accept it for its evil associations. The leading residents were, therefore, invited to choose their own master. They declared in favour prayer. It was, however, later on, purchased by Baba Ala Singh of Patiala for a sum of twenty five thousand rupees. Since then it continued to be an undisturbed part of the Patiala State up to 1948 when it joined the Patiala and the EPS Union.

In addition to these are a few other buildings of historical and archaeological importance.

Masjid of Sadna Qasai or Butcher—Butcher by profession Sadna was a person of saintly bent of mind. The mosque built by him stands to the north-west of Sirhind near the Fatehgarh Sahib Railway Station.

Rauza Taj Bibi—It stands to the memory of Subhan, daughter of Bahlol Lodhi. According to Persian inscription, she died here on the 11th of Safar 901 A.H., corresponding to 31st October-1st November, 1425. The tomb was erected in the time of Sikandar in the following year.

Khanqah Mian Bandgi Sahib—It is situated about half a mile west of Rauza Sharif. According to a local tradition, Bangdi Sahib was a man of great learning and spiritual attainments. The Khanqah was

used by him as a public school.

Maqbara Haji Muhammad—Haji Muhammad a well-known saint during the 16th and 17th centuries. He died here in 1014 A.H., 1605 A.D.

Gumbad Ustad and Shagird—There lived in Sirhind two master masons who built these *gumbads* as pieces of architectural importance. The *Gumbad* of Ustad (teacher) is lying at a distance of about a mile to the north of Sadna's mosque while that of the *shagird* (pupil) about 200 yards west of the *Gumbad* of Ustad.

Jahaz Haveli—Is a building of architectural importance, raised to represent the shape of a ship (*jahaz*). Most of it is gone. The remaining portion is in a dilapidated condition.

Aam-Khas Bagh—It was the official headquarters of the local governors. Most of the original buildings are now gone. The *Khas Bagh* portion was used as the official residence while the *Am Bagh* portion included the jail, the garrison and other state buildings.

Book Reviews

Bhai Vir Singh by Professor Harbans Singh, published by the Sahitya Akademy, Delhi, 1984, pp. 100, price Rs. 4-.

This is the second edition of this book, the first having been published in 1972.

Bhai Vir Singh was a brilliant and a remarkable product of the Sikh renaissance that was ushered in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the Punjab and he was an inspiring spirit behind it for over half a century.

He devoted the whole of his life in the dissemination of the knowledge of the Sikh scriptures and of the lives of the Sikh Gurus and the Sikh heroes and martyrs.

This book under review is the work of an as eminent a scholar as Professor Harbans Singh is. It has been planned under various chapters. The first chapter deals with the milieu of Bhai Vir Singh. The learned author writes that the man who grasped the full implications of the prevailing urges and impulses of the unprecedented upsurge of the creative consciousness was Bhai Vir Singh and in a very real sense, modern Punjabi literature is of his making. Scholars of literature trace to him the origins of Punjabi prose, novel, lyric, epic, drama and historical research. The author traces in this chapter the activities of the anti-Sikh activists particularly the Christian missionaries. In view of the dangers to Sikhism the formation of Singh Sabha and its programme of restoring Sikhism to its old purity, editing and publishing historical and religious books, propagating current knowledge, using Punjabi medium and bringing back apostates into the Sikh fold, deeply influenced Bhai Vir Singh.

Chapter two, deals with the ancestral and formative years of Bhai Vir Singh. He was born on December 5, 1872 in a deeply religious family with traditions of learning on both the paternal and maternal sides. His family is traced back to Diwan Kaura Mall son of Wallu Mall Chugh. The Diwan was a prominent official of the governor of Lahore about the middle of the 18th century.

Baba Kahan Singh's only son Charan Singh (Bhai Vir Singh's father) learnt Sanskrit, Braj, prosody, Sikh texts and Ayurveda. He learnt English and Persian and western medicine. Poetry was Charan

Singh's forte. Vir Singh being the eldest son of Dr Charan Singh's family of six, received special care of and grounding in Sikh literature at the feet of his maternal grand-father Bhai Hazara Singh who was an eminent scholar of Sikh theology. Professor Harbans Singh refers to the good testimonials of Vir Singh's school Principal Rev. McKenzie and a little later an intelligence report branding him as 'disloyal to the core' and a 'zealous neo-Sikh and thoroughly anti-British.'

In chapter three, the learned author discusses Bhai Vir Singh's contribution to 'Punjabi Tractarian Movement' which was the mainstay of the reform movements in various traditions. Tract after tract, began with the line, "Religion is the noblest of all things ; nobler still is the preaching of religion." More than ninety per cent. tracts were written by Bhai Vir Singh. Professor Harbans Singh points out the high cultural potential of the tractarian movement. Besides leading to specific conceptual and religious formulations of the reformation, this movement brought maturity to Punjabi prose writing. To promote the same movement Vir Singh launched a weekly newspaper the *Khalsa Samachar*, in 1899 and it has carried on uninterrupted until today.

Chapter four deals with *Sundari* and other novels. *Sundari* was the first novel of the Punjabi language which was published for the first time in 1898. It was written when the Sikh *Panth* needed to be reminded of their glorious past and given a vigorous shake. Within the first thirty five years of its publication *Sundari* ran into more than a dozen editions and about eighty thousand copies of it were sold away. The book continued to enjoy popularity for decades together not due to any merit of a high order as a novel but due to its historical background that fascinated its readers. It is true that often the plots of Bhai Vir Singh's novels and the names of his characters are imaginary but the background in which his characters play their roles is all historical. Bhai Vir Singh adopts the pattern of *Sundari*, in *Satwant Kaur* (Part I, published in 1900 and Part II in 1927) and *Bijay Singh*, Professor Harbans Singh, after giving brief summaries of the novels, has made a critical analysis of the working of Bhai Vir Singh's mind, who, while writing his novels, does not aim at producing a good novel as it would appear to an ordinary reader. He wants to present a study of the Sikh character in a particular situation. Sardar Harbans Singh writes that 'Bhai Vir Singh has drawn the character of *Sundari* with deep faith, tenderness and insight. To make a woman the hero of the novel was a sign of the delicacy of his poetic perception.'

Bhai Vir Singh's fourth novel *Baba Naudh Singh* was published in 1921. Commenting on it Professor Harbans Singh writes that it has admittedly a didactic bias as Baba Naudh Singh's life is one long sermon on Sikh morality and religion which its author carried off with genuineness of his personal charm and conviction. In this novel the author's prose style is at its maturest. The novelist had moulded for himself a style adequate to his purposes of philosophical speculation and religious and social exposition. Punjabi idiom was refined in this process. Bhai Vir Singh was the creator of Punjabi prose just as he was the creator of Punjabi novel. Bhai Vir Singh, like the eminent English novelist Sir Walter Scott, gave a lead in writing historical novels in Punjabi but due to the Punjabi writer's incapacity to master the subject of his at the same time and fix up his plot in historical background no progress could he made in this direction.

Chapter five, relates to *Rana Surat Singh*. In the words of Professor Harbans Singh 'this poem is unique in Punjabi literature not only for its form and size but also for its artistic decor. Its figures are fresh. Its music is enthralling. The architectural sweep of its structure has an elevating quality.' In this epic of more than twelve thousand lines, Bhai Vir Singh's genius is expressed wonderfully. The poem is a tale of yearning of Rani Raj Kaur for her merger with her husband Rana Surat Singh who died young. According to Professor Harbans Singh, for the sheer force of its poetry *Rana Surat Singh* is incomparable. The poet has used this epic poem as a text for the elucidation of Sikh mysticism. The narrative is breath-takingly gripping. It has a hypnotic tone and is rich in illustration. Bhai Vir Singh's *Rana Lakhdata Singh* was the first play written in Punjabi language.

In chapter six, the author discusses short poems of Bhai Vir Singh for whom poetry was a permanent calling. Professor Harbans Singh has analysed those poems in a very scholarly manner. He has rendered many of the small poems into English, reaching very close to the personal import of their author. Bhai Vir Singh's deeply cultivated intellect and instinct for form kept his emotion in control and moulded it into well defined and easily recognizable patterns, as the learned writer of this book puts it.

In chapter seven, the author has discussed the learned works of Bhai Vir Singh. For his scholarly scrutiny and treatment were chosen *Sikhan di Bhagat Mal*, a work by Bhai Mani Singh (1644-1734), Rattan Singh's celebrated *Prachin Panth Prakash*, and the *Janam Sakhi*,

same chapter contains a brief summary of each one of the *sau* (hundred) *sākhīs* (anecdotes) given in the book. One may question the advisability of such summary when the complete text is at hand; still it serves a purpose—it provides information about the contents of each *Sākhī*.

The main body of the book containing the text of the *Sau Sakhi* is annotated through footnotes which give informations of text in different manuscripts. Appendix I contains annotations and explanation of words and phrases of the text. This is a very useful glossary. The old texts are sometimes difficult to comprehend because of the archaic form of vocabulary and idiom. The editor has taken pains to explain every item considered difficult by him. In this process he is, at places too liberal to be economical.

Appendix 2 is entitled *Itihāsik Vishleshan*, literally, historical analysis. It contains informatory notes on personalities, places, events, institutions, etc., occurring in the text. These notes contain valuable information. The editor being a historian by profession, is at his best in this appendix. He has consulted vast corpus of source material for preparing these notes. In most cases he has mentioned the source of information contained in a particular notes.

In appendix 3 are given four of the *sākhīs* which are narrated in the earlier printed version of the *Sau Sākhī* but are not found in old manuscripts. These *sākhīs* confirm the existence of interpolated material and also provide specimens and nature of interpolations.

Bibliography consists of long lists of works consulted by the editor. It is divided in three parts—list of Punjabi manuscripts, list of published works in Gurmukhi script and list of English books. Interestingly the titles of English works are also given in Gurmukhi script.

The editor has made this work fully comprehensive. He has handled the material with the objectivity of a historian and craftsmanship of an editor, and has produced a work which will indeed be admired by those who want to have reliable information about the *Sau Sākhī*.

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